EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

1939-40

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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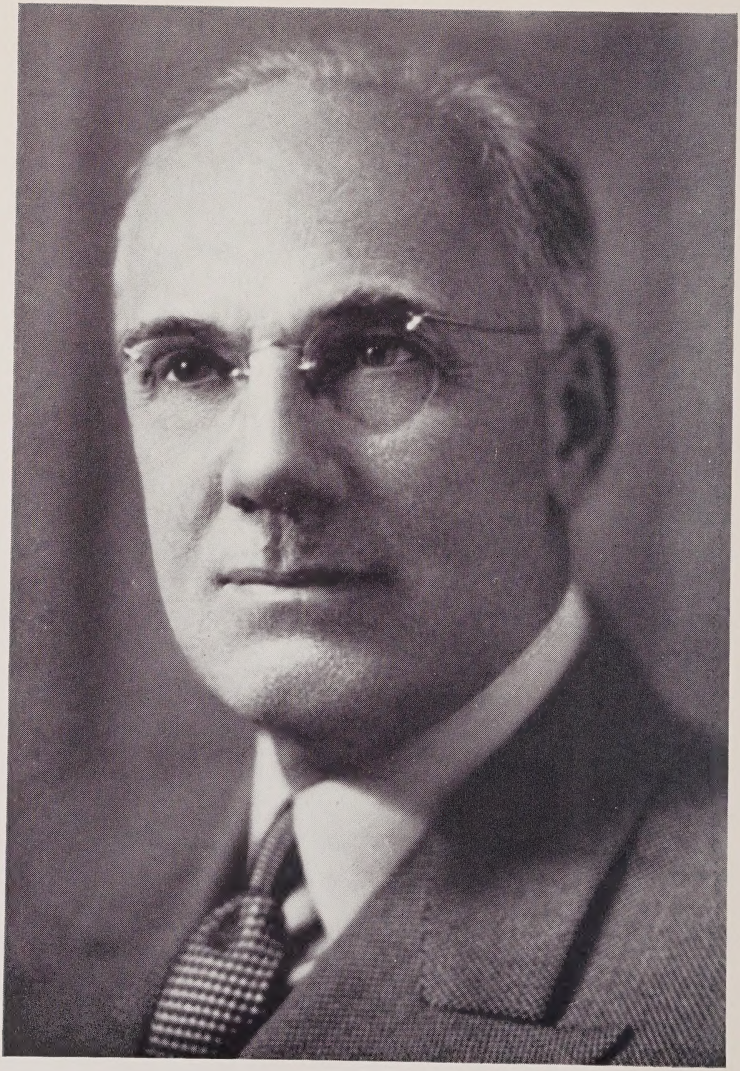

F. A. GABY, Esq., B.A.Sc., D.Sc.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1939-40

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1939-40

Thirty-seventh Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

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The Empire Club of Canada

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Year 1939-40

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*At the executive meeting Nov. 15, 1939, Mr. H. F. Powell was elected to replace as second vice-president, Major Lawrence Junkin, and Mr. E. F. Thompson as third vice-president to replace Mr. Lyman Crawford-Brown, upon the enlistment in His Majesties Forces of Major Lawrence Junkin and Mr. Lyman Crawford-Brown.

The President, Executive and Members of the Empire Club of Canada, express our deep regret at the loss of our Honorary President, The Right Honourable Lord Tweedsmuir.

Feb. 11th, 1940

HIS MAJESTY'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO THE EMPIRE

Sandringham, England, December 25, 1939

The festival which we know as Christmas is above all a festival of peace and of the home. Among all free peoples the love of peace is profound, for this alone gives security to the home.

But true peace is in the hearts of men, and it is the tragedy of this time that there are powerful countries whose direction and policy are based on aggression and the suppression of all we hold dear for mankind.

It is this that has stirred our peoples and given them a unity unknown in any previous war. We feel in our hearts that we are fighting against wickedness, and this conviction will give us strength from day to day to persevere until victory is assured.

At home we are, as it were, taking the strain for what may lie ahead of us, resolved and confident.

We look with pride and thankfulness on the never failing courage and devotion of the Royal Navy, upon which throughout the last four months has burst a storm of ruthless and unceasing war. And when I speak of our navy to-day, I mean all men of our empire who go down to the sea in ships, mercantile marine, mine sweepers, trawlers and drifters—from senior officers to the last boys who have joined up.

To every one in this great fleet I send a message of gratitude and greeting from myself and from all my peoples. The same message I send to the gallant air force which, in co-operation with the navy, is our sure shield of defense. They daily are adding to those laurels that their fathers won.

I would send a special word of greeting to the armies of the Empire, to those who have come from afar and in particular to the British Expeditionary Force. Their task is hard. They are waiting. Waiting is a trial of nerve and discipline. But I know that when the moment comes for action they will prove themselves worthy of the highest traditions of their great service.

To all who are preparing themselves to serve their country on sea or land or in the air I send my greetings at this time. Men and women of our far-flung Empire are working in their several vocations with one and the same purpose, and all are members of a great family of nations which is prepared to sacrifice everything that freedom of spirit may be saved to the world.

Such is the spirit of the Empire, of the great Dominions, of India, of every colony large or small. From all alike have come offers of help for which the mother country can never sufficiently be grateful. Such unity in aim and effort has never been seen in the world before.

I believe from my heart that the cause which binds together my peoples and our gallant and faithful Allies is the cause of Christian civilization. On no other basis can a true civilization be built.

Let us remember this through the dark times ahead of us and when we are making the peace for which all men pray.

A new year is at hand. We cannot tell what it will bring. If it brings peace, how thankful we shall be. If it brings us continued struggle, we shall remain undaunted.

Meanwhile, I feel we may all find a message of encouragement in the lines which in my closing words I should like to read to you:

> I said to a man who stood at the gate of the year: "Give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown," and he replied, "Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God. That shall be to you better than a light and safer than a known way."

May that Almighty Hand guide and uphold us all.

Resolution—

"The Empire Club of Canada, looking forward with eager loyalty to the expected visit of the King and Queen to Canada, respectfully requests His Excellency the Governor-General, to convey to their Majesties an expression of the devotion of its members to the Crown and Person of the Sovereign, their humble duty and deep affection towards Her Majesty, and their happiness that in present troublous times the British Commonwealth of Nations is looking with unquestioning confidence to their King and Queen as representing all that is finest and most glorious in British history and tradition.

"The members of the Empire Club of Canada reaffirm their allegiance to Canada and a United Empire, their conviction that the close association, sincere co-operation and mutual loyalty of Canada and the Mother Country are necessary to the freedom and prosperity of both and their earnest desire that Canada with the other peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations shall work in harmony and mutual confidence to ensure, at whatever cost, the safety of free institutions."
Adopted March 30, 1939.

Acknowledgment—

"The Private Secretary is commanded by The King to convey His Majesty's sincere thanks to The Empire Club of Canada for its message of loyal assurances."

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and the Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim;—the strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

CONTENTS

Officers and Executive Committee - - - - - - - v
His Majesty's Christmas Message to the Empire - ix

ADDRESSES:

The World From Westminster - - - - - - - - 1
A. Beverley Baxter, Esq., M.P.
The Scottish Link in the Empire - - - - - - - 13
Mr. John Graham
Hospital Problems in Peace and War - - - - - - 25
Frederick G. Carter, M.D., A.B.
Hitlerism - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 40
The Honourable C. P. Beaubien, B.A., LL.L., K.C.
What Lies Ahead? - - - - - - - - - - - - 53
Sherman Rogers
The British Council - - - - - - - - - - - 75
Mr. Maurice Colbourne
The Application of the Principles of Democracy to Industry's Labour Relations - - - - - - - 83
Roy W. Moore
What Will the Baltic States Do? - - - - - - - 91
Dr. Michael Heilperin
The United States—Its General Atmosphere and Conditions - - - - - - - - - - - - - 103
W. J. Cameron
India - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 114
Sardar Hardit Singh Malik, O.B.E., I.C.S.
The Part We Play - - - - - - - - - - - - - 126
Hon. Iva Campbell Fallis
Guarding Our Heritage - - - - - - - - - - - 136
President H. J. Cody, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L.
The Road to Victory - - - - - - - - - - - - 150
Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Drew, K.C., M.P.P.
Hungary at the Crossroads - - - - - - - - - 165
Dr. Nicholas R. Doman, M.A., Ph.D.
Anti-Semitism - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 181
Gilbert E. Jackson, B.A.
War With the Blinds Down - - - - - - - - - 193
Mr. C. H. J. Snider
Retrospect and Prophecy - - - - - - - - - - 210
Right Honourable R. B. Bennet, P.C., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

How Can We Build a Nation? - - - - - - - - 227
M. Jean-Charles Harvey
Some Strategic Aspects of the War in 1940 - - - 240
Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin
The Present Situation in the Balkans - - - - - 256
Dr. Richard A. R. Maresch
Quebec - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 270
Honourable James Arthur Mathewson, K.C.
This Democratic Empire - - - - - - - - - 283
Lieut.-Col. Wilfrid Bovey, O.B.E.
A Quarter Century of Communications Development 298
Dr. J. O. Perrine
The Challenge of Democracy - - - - - - - - - 320
Honourable D. G. McKenzie
Racial Relations in the Union of South Africa - - 334
Mr. D. deWaal Meyer
Dictators and Democrats - - - - - - - - - - 351
Miss Rosita Forbes, F.R.G.S.
The Eastern Arctic Patrol - - - - - - - - - 367
Major David L. McKeand
The Issues at Stake - - - - - - - - - - - 384
Honourable James H. R. Cromwell
Some War-Time Business and Financial Problems - 394
J. M. Macdonnell, Esq., K.C.
Canada's Position in Relation to the Empire's Mineral Situation - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 412
Dr. Charles Camsell, C.M.G., B.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C., F.G.S.A.
Hydro and the St. Lawrence - - - - - - - - - 426
Dr. Thomas H. Hogg, C.E.
What is This Business of Conducting? - - - - 446
Mr. Reginald Stewart
Why Britain Still Leads - - - - - - - - - - 457
Dr. J. Wesley Bready, Ph.D.
Annual Meeting - - - - - - - - - - - - 472
Annual Financial Statement - - - - - - - - - 477
Honorary and Past Presidents - - - - - - - 478
Officers and Committee—Year 1940-41 - - - - 479
Constitution - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 480
Members with His Majesty's Forces on Active Service 485
Life and Honorary Members - - - - - - - - - 485
Non-Resident Members - - - - - - - - - - 485
Resident Members - - - - - - - - - - - 486

"THE WORLD FROM WESTMINSTER"

AN ADDRESS BY

A. BEVERLEY BAXTER, ESQ., M.P.,
LONDON, ENG.

August 24, 1939

DR. F. A. GABY, the President of the Club, occupied the Chair, and introduced the Guest Speaker, as follows: Gentlemen of The Empire Club:

We are highly honoured in having with us today as guest-speaker, Mr. Beverley Baxter of London.

It is very opportune that we should have this great pleasure of hearing one who is so closely in touch with Empire affairs at a time when conditions are so critical.

He is not a stranger in Toronto or Canada, although it is some twenty-five years ago that he left for overseas. His frequent visits still keep him in touch with his native land.

Mr. Baxter, during his early boyhood years, took an active part in the musical life of Toronto. As a boy he used to sing with Professor Blakeley's choir at Sherbourne Street Methodist Church. He was a member of the then famous "Blakeley Boy Trio", which toured all over Ontario. The other members of the trio were Jack Gooch and Clarence Glass, and an extra attraction was frequently a boy organist by the name of Ernest Macmillan.

Mr. Baxter commenced his literary career on the suggestion of Charles Chambers, of *Chambers Journal,* during convalescence in Scotland after the war. He is also indebted to Col. MacLean who was the first to suggest a journalistic career, and one of his first writings was in *MacLean's Magazine.* In his autobiography, "Strange Street", Mr. Baxter tells a fascinating story of his contacts with the great figures of the Empire.

In 1920 he joined the London *Daily Express* under

Lord Beaverbrook, and rose to be Editor-in-Chief. When the circulation of the *Express* had reached the two million mark, Mr. Baxter resigned to become associated with the moving picture industry, becoming Chairman of Buckingham Productions in 1936.

After a couple of years, he returned to journalism, in which he was most interested, becoming editorial adviser to Allied Newspapers—the group headed by Lord Kemsley.

Most of us are familiar with Mr. Baxter's excellent reviews of the times in his "London Letter" to *MacLean's Magazine,* and his radio broadcasts from the heart of the Empire became almost a national feature.

In 1935, Mr. Baxter was elected to the British House of Commons for Woodgreen, Middlesex constituency, which seat he still holds with distinction.

His subject today is "The World from Westminster". It is with a great deal of pleasure that we introduce our guest-speaker, Mr. Beverley Baxter. (Applause).

MR. A. BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.: Mr. President and Gentlemen: It may be that "A prophet is without honour in his own country", and one or two letters I have seen recently would suggest that that is still true, but certainly the prophet in this case is not without a hearing. I am greatly honoured by so large an attendance today, and I know I cannot see all who are listening to me; but I would be very vainglorious indeed if I did not realize that what has brought us together today and what has brought you here, is to see if there is some word I can give you which will shed a little bit of light on the encircling gloom over Europe. I wish that I was speaking to you, as I did so often last year, from London. I wish that at this moment I was in London and could tell you exactly what is going on. For reasons best known to the Canadian Government, those broadcasts were regarded with some sinister suspicion. But I am very grateful that they allow me to speak to them on Canadian soil by this strange contraption in front of me.

Gentlemen, what is going on in Europe? I feel like saying to you, "You tell me and I will tell you." But undoubtedly the extraordinary change-around of Russia did not come as a complete surprise to London. World-shattering events have a habit of throwing their shadows before them. When Litvinoff was dismissed at the beginning of the suggestion of the peace front and an alliance of Russia with the democracies, that was a warning shell. Then when it came to those long delays, one realized that there were things going on which were very unpleasant behind the scenes. Therefore you may be sure that London and the British Government were not taken completely by surprise, unpleasant as it undoubtedly is—because it is too late now to deny the facts which we dare not and cannot ignore.

The decision of Russia to sign a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany undoubtedly places Poland in a desperate situation, and with Poland in a desperate situation, the position of the democracies is that much worse. That we must admit. But it is seldom wise, it seems to me, to look only at the surface of things. What is behind Russia's move? To me it is a confession of military weakness on her part. What we have suspected is that Russia is still in a vast experimental stage, and that she has bought off Germany at this moment, because she is not in a military position to play her part. I think that is one fair deduction.

And having bought off Germany, what has she got? I think there have been in Europe since the War something like two hundred Non-Aggression pacts, and peace has not descended upon the continent yet. I regard this thing that Russia has done as a very dangerous price she has paid. Today Herr Hitler, that soul of honour and idealism, has promised Russia, "we are friends forever or until this agreement lapses". There is nothing more certain in the world than that some day Germany will have a reckoning with Russia, and I think the great Stalin has not been too wise in doing what he has done, and I think to some extent this action of Moscow is a justification of Munich last year.

I will come to Munich presently, but only for a moment, because the past is the past. But last year there were great doubts that Russia would stick to her agreement, very great doubts indeed, and I think what has happened the last few days justifies those who had those doubts.

Now what has Germany accomplished by this move? Undoubtedly she has had a swift diplomatic success. We may say what we like about the Germans: we may think what we like. But in fairness, gentlemen, they do get things done, don't they? The swiftness of this thing is really astonishing. But remember, that Stalin has been trying for it for five years behind the scenes; but we knew it in London.

What has Germany done now? She has eased her position so far as Poland is concerned, but she has completed, if it was not already completed before, the encirclement of fear and hatred in Europe.

We speak lightly of the Balkan States and the Danubian States, and they are a quarrelsome family, causing much distress to themselves and to Europe, but there are some brave little nations in Europe, and I think if you would travel—as many of you have—if you would travel through Europe and see those little nations keeping their culture alive, keeping their independence, and today, at this hour, daring to stand against the German machine, I think you have to admit that bravery is something that you find even in those little Balkan countries. (Applause)

You have today Hungary, Hungary on the very frontier of Germany, and the pressure on Hungary from Berlin in the last year has gone to the very limit, and still Hungarians stand out for their freedom.

I was in Roumania last year, and Roumania has had a taste of German occupation. Roumania too keeps her dream and will fight for it when the time comes.

And Poland! What do we know of Poland? Paderewski came to Massey Hall so often: Pilsudski, the General; and perhaps Madame Curie. Otherwise we know very little of the Poles. But they too are facing catastrophe and possibly destruction, but they are saying, and they are saying tonight, "Better death than slavery again." Although I think we should only regard Poland as a point on the map, as a point where we say to Hitler, "Thus far and no further", it is still possible for us to feel human admiration for men who put an ideal so far above physical survival.

Well, as we look around, Gentlemen, we come to that land of sunny skies, Italy, and although I feel very little temptation today to think or speak except with absolute seriousness, I do feel that Italy is perhaps possibly a vital point in this whole situation, and certainly a point not without some humour. When Chamberlain went to Rome last January I decided to go as well. That is, I went the day before so as not to embarrass the Prime Minister by the two of us arriving together. (Laughter) So I took my faithful wife with me, and we went to the Grand Hotel in Rome the day before Chamberlain was due—and I would give you this advice, when travelling in Europe always go to the Grand Hotel wherever you are, because there is always something going on there, unexpected.

When we arrived I was a little disgruntled to see the foyer full of Swastika flags. It seemed an inappropriate beginning to British entry. Just then a little man walked in, with twelve officers marching behind him, and everybody making the Fascist salute. I said to the hotel proprietor, "Who is the gentleman in uniform?" "Oh," he said, "that is Dr. Funk, the German Trade Minister." So I sent word up to the Doctor enquiring if I might see him, and he said, with German courtesy, that nothing would make him so happy, but he was just off. And out they marched again, this funny little man, with the officers behind him, all made the Fascist salute again, and Funk disappeared. And when I turned around, not a Swastika flag was to be seen in the hotel. Somehow, Gentlemen, I think that is not without significance in the events which lie ahead.

The next day Chamberlain was due to arrive, and we went down to the station to see him come. The place was very crowded but there was a sign up, "Journalisti", and owing to having been educated at Harbord Collegiate no doubt, I was able to translate that almost at once into "Journalists". Well I want to describe that scene for a moment because again I think it will have something to do with the events which are crowding upon us. There was an archway in the station and all the little Italian generals about five feet tall came in, not only covered with medals on both sides but with medals clinging to medals, clusters of them. There was an Oxford graduate—not an Oxford Grouper but an Oxford graduate—there and I said to him, "What are all these medals? I don't seem to be able to remember the battles for which they were bestowed." He said, "They are for the 100 yards, the 220 and the 440." (Laughter) All the little Italian generals came in swaggering around, and finally came Count Ciano looking very much like Prince Danilo of the "Merry Widow". Then came in the escort of 100 very fine troops and with the death skull and crossbones on their helmets. Then the rumour spread that Mussolini was not going to arrive, but suddenly the air grew tense, the very heart-beat of Italy stopped, Ciano went out, and in marched Ciano and Mussolini, with the Duce's chin a foot out looking like an avenging Thor, a very broad man, extraordinarily broad with his waist pulled in by a rope, and marched down, turned right, marched down, turned to the Guard, kept on marching, inspected them, thrust his hand into his side, —and of course the train should have come in. (Laughter) Italy, however, is still Italy and the train did not come in and Mussolini held his dramatic poise as long as he could, and then broke into a most agreeable grin that went right across his face. I swear he still sees the joke of being dictator.

At any rate, the train then came in, and out stepped perhaps the most discussed and in some ways the most condemned and in some ways the most controversial figure of our time. Out stepped Neville Chamberlain in his morning coat, with his umbrella and silk hat, followed by Lord Halifax looking rather like a benevolent bloodhound. I cannot tell you the extraordinary effect of Mr. Chamberlain's appearance upon the whole scene. In the midst of all these pantomime soldiers—I mean in appearance, I am not saying anything about their character—but with everybody thrusting their chins out and swaggering, out this man Chamberlain came like somebody from a more decent world. He looked like a great gentleman and he moved like one. (Applause) It had such an effect upon Mussolini that that night at the reception at the Palazzo Venezia Mussolini wore tails and a white tie—which he should never do. (Laughter)

But, Gentlemen, I saw Chamberlain leave the station. He drove through the streets in an open car, and the streets were crowded with people who had come from the Seven Hills, and I saw women with tears running down their faces reaching out their hands to him as if something clean and decent had happened in the world which had pierced the dark night which they had experienced so long. And that went on and never stopped right through his stay.

The people of Italy were profoundly touched, profoundly moved, and standing here in Toronto today, with possibly the climax of disaster only a few hours off, I do not believe yet that we have seen the complete harvest of Chamberlain's brave and gentle attempt to rouse Europe to better things.

Who and what is this man Chamberlain? I see by a letter in the *Globe and Mail* of yesterday, that a lady said that I am faithful to Mr. Chamberlain because of hope of political profit, and because I could not hold my seat without him. It does not matter; people must write to the papers about something. But let me say this, a private member in his first Parliament, anxious for a political future, does not pin his faith to a Leader of seventy years of age knowing that the man cannot stand the strain very much longer. That is not good politics and good tactics. I believe profoundly in this man, although I realize that the events of the last few days have made his future difficult and dark.

But I want to go back for just one moment to Munich because there will be many people who think and many people who say that because of that, we have the situation today. I just want to say one word. Supposing that one of you were the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Remember what British policy had forced upon it. We had believed in disarmament. We had led the world in disarmament. Then came the situation which we all know. There sits Neville Chamberlain, with the Czecho Slovakia crisis blown up into a hurricane, and supposing he receives a letter from Monsieur Daladier saying, "You must get out of this, we are not in a position to fight." Supposing he calls his Chiefs of Staff together as he did, and he says to Hore-Belisha, "How about the army?" And Belisha says, "We have no army, but it is ready." He says to the Navy, "How about the Navy?" And the Navy, as it always does, says, "We are ready." (Applause) And he says to the Air Force, "What about you?" And they say, "We are caught out by three months. Three months we are caught out because we have had to build an industry as well as build aeroplanes."

What about America? The silence from Washington was not more noisy than the silence of the grave at that time!

What about the Dominions? From Australia and New Zealand—"to the last man". From Canada—a silence not more noisy than Washington. Not from the heart of Canada, because, believe me, the very silence of a Government sometimes allows the heart-beat of a people to be heard. (Prolonged applause)

And so Chamberlain flew to Munich. He saw it with very clear eyes. Never in the history of politics did a man go on an errand with fewer cards in his pocket, and he stopped that war. At least he gave the Democracies a chance to think, he gave the Democracies a chance to pull themselves together and to speak with one voice, and he gave England a chance to arm to the teeth. Today, Gentlemen, whatever happens, whatever happens, the Mother Country is ready. (Applause) Those of you who have not been, perhaps, over to the Mother Country the last few months would hardly believe the change in the ordinary life of the people. Everything is tuned to a supreme national effort. It has its humorous side, because in England humour is always near the surface. I went to a private dinner party two or three weeks ago for about twenty people. The host did not turn up for an hour later, but we ate his dinner nevertheless. When he came he said, "I am awfully sorry, but I have been out on the fire engines." He is a fireman. Another incident,—a man said to me, a man of very considerable position in England, "Come with me, I want to show you how well I am getting on in Air Raid precautions." He took me to a garage where they all put on their gas helmets and oil skins, and they poured out an imitation of mustard gas on the pavement, whereupon he took a broom and swept it off. Then he said, "That is because I am so good that I got that job. If I continue, I hope some day to pour the pail out."

But behind that effort, is determination and although Russia has double-crossed us or played safe, it does not matter. Remember this: Communist Russia broke away from the Allies in 1917. Germany made her supreme effort after 1917 and she was defeated. Today, in 1939, Communist Russia breaks away again. Germany hails it as a great victory for her. But Germany has yet to deal with the British Navy and the French Army, the finest Army in the world.

I am sorry that it is possible in this year of grace, or in this year of disgrace, to speak in such terms, but the one chance of peace now is that we do not hesitate to face any situation without equivocation. That is the only chance now, and that is what we must do. I know where we stand with Canada. I know with the United States that overwhelming sympathy will be with us in trouble, but I do resent one thing, namely, those who say, "Let the mad dogs of Europe fight it out. Why should we pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire?" Is the Pax Brittanica of no importance to the Continent of North America and the United States of America? In the nineteenth century, under the Pax Brittanica, under friendly trade, under the domination of the world by Great Britain, there was the greatest development of human liberty that the world has seen in any period of its history. (Applause) Is it nothing if that ends? Is it nothing if Britain is defeated? I wonder.

Britain's foreign policy has had great discouragements, perhaps many fumblings. But much as we respect and love America—and she is a great and friendly neighbour or it would not be possible to make such a speech here today—but when America pulled out of Europe with the League of Nations, she left the British Isles too great a burden to carry. Ever since then Britain has turned and tried to hold the balance, when she herself was not sufficiently powerful to do it.

Now comes this issue. Is it peace or war? I wired yesterday to my friend, the editor of *Reuters,* and I want you to understand it was yesterday, and the reply I got was last night, so it does not take into any account what happened today. But the editor of *Reuters* is in touch with every city of Europe, and I asked him for a very frank opinion of the situation. He says (quoting cable) "Situation is serious but far from hopeless. Well informed people here regard war as possible but very improbable. Whitehall is surprisingly calm and cheerful." That, I think, is of some importance and may cheer us up.

Now, Gentlemen, my time is nearly up, and I want to —well I think the Government may stop me speaking on the wires if I do not stop before,—but I want to say this one thing to you. Supposing that this telegram is wrong, supposing the issue was joined and once more Great Britain goes to war, then there will come a challenge to every man here for himself or for his son, and perhaps for every woman as well. That challenge has to be accepted, I suppose, by every person according to his conscience and his heart. Such a situation in the world, if war comes, will appeal differently to different people. You remember Rupert Brooke, the young poet in England, who when 1914 came, wrote with a splendid defiance, "We thank thee, God, Who has matched us with this hour." He felt simply the thrill of the generation caught and challenged by fate. There are others—I would like to think I could include myself among them—who are content to fight for King and Country. (Applause)

I had the pleasure of a talk with the Queen when she came back from Canada. I have never seen anyone more moved or more inspired than she was by her experiences in this country. I didn't have a chance to talk with the King, but I talked with her. I don't believe that this country is indifferent to the fate of their King and Queen and what they stand for. I don't believe it. (Applause)

But supposing that there are some who are not appealed to by the heroic aspect, are not appealed to by the patriotic aspect, there is the other side of it. Centuries can go by in the creation of human liberty, and the work of centuries can be over-done and over-thrown in twenty-four hours. That is the thing we must face. That is what Tom Kettle had in mind. In Parliament in 1914, in the British Parliament, Kettle was an Irish Rebel. He hated Britain. And then came the challenge of Germany, and Kettle went out to the front, and he wrote a book, and he was killed. But in the front of that book he wrote, to my mind, these incredibly beautiful words,

"Know that we, with the foolish dead
Fought not for King or Flag or Emperor
But for a dream born in a herdsman's shed
And for the secret scripture of the poor."

That is what he saw, and I claim that today we are up against something bigger and more menacing than national insecurity. It is perhaps the end of a dream, the dream that men shall be free to live and think according to their conscience, and if that dream passes, I don't think it matters very much what else survives. (Applause)

DR. F. A. GABY: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada and the Canadian Club are honoured to have at the head table today, in addition to other distinguished gentlemen, the presidents and representatives of the Board of Trade, the Rotary Club, the Kiwanis Club, St. George's Society and the Sons of England. We are indeed glad to have many of their members with us today.

I am sure we would be much pleased to have Mr. Henry Borden, Vice-President of the Canadian Club, extend to our guest-speaker a vote of thanks.

MR. HENRY BORDEN, Vice-President of the Canadian Club: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: We have just heard a most interesting and instructive address on matters which deeply concern and vitally affect every one of us. This vast gathering today and the close attention with which it listened to Mr. Baxter's remarks gives him some indication of our appreciation of his coming here today and analyzing for us the complicated network of international politics, which unfortunately seems to become more complicated as each day goes by.

There is one thing which he mentioned. He used the phrase, "The Heart of Canada." Mr. Baxter is returning to Westminster shortly. I am sure we would all wish him to take back with him his fervent conviction that through that heart red blood still flows, blood as red as has flowed before, and that if the testing time should come, Canada will not be found wanting and she will be standing with the other nations of this Empire.

Sir, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and the Canadian Club of Toronto, I ask you to accept our warmest thanks. (Applause)

"THE SCOTTISH LINK IN THE EMPIRE"

An Address by MR. JOHN GRAHAM

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, September 7, 1939

The President: Ladies and Gentlemen: We are indeed honoured in having as guests at our head table two overseas visitors—Miss Kaine, who is handling publicity for the Scottish Development Council, and Major Ricketts, of the Royal Marines.

At this momentous period in the world's history, your Executive has deemed it fitting that an expression of loyalty be forwarded to the Prime Minister of Canada. Accordingly, a resolution in the following words was forwarded to Mr. King on August 24th:

"The President, Executive and members of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, having in mind the extremely grave turn the European situation has taken this morning, and in view of the assurance of support received by the Crown from the other British Dominions, respectfully beg you to accept and to express to His Excellency, the Governor-General, our deep sense of loyalty to the Mother Country and to convey to him renewed affirmation of our telegram to you September 21st, 1938, reading as follows: 'The Empire Club of Canada recognizes the difficult position in which His Majesty's Governments of Great Britain and Canada are placed by the course of events in Europe and expressed its confidence that by the loyal co-operation of these Governments, such decisions will be made and measures taken by both as will preserve at once the honour, the safety and the welfare of the Britsh Commonwealth of Nations'."

I am sure we are all in accord with this resolution.

In these trying times I think it is in the interests of the citizens of Canada that they should take every opportunity of informing themselves, through every source available, of the great problems that are confronting us. The Empire Club is performing an unusual function in this regard by bringing the latest thought and material in Empire matters, as well as on national matters, and those of importance to our social economy.

We take this opportunity of asking our members to make every effort to enlarge this membership so the greatest number may obtain the benefits provided by our organization. The record of the meetings of the Club is furnished to each member annually in a handsome volume that will prove of historic value in the years to come. If you can give any suggestions, or names we would be very pleased to have you hand them to the Chairman of the Membership Committee.

Mr. Crawford-Brown, who was Chairman of the Membership Committee and is still on the Executive of the Empire Club, has advised us today that he has enlisted and will not be available for that particular duty in the future. We will advise of the change.

Another member of the Past Executive of the Club—Mr. J. S. P. Armstrong, has also enlisted for overseas.

We urge upon you to interest your friends in the aims and activities of this Club, and the value that it means to them.

We are very highly honoured today in having as our guest-speaker, Mr. John Graham, of Glasgow, Scotland. Many of you who have visited the British Section of the Exhibition have seen there the very excellent display of the Scottish Development Council. Mr. Graham is the Secretary of this organization, which represents an independent effort on the part of Scotland to further cultural and trade relations with the Empire. We appreciate very keenly the difficult position in which the visitors from the Old Country now find themselves, and we are all the more grateful to have the opportunity of hearing Mr. Graham today. His subject is "The Scottish Link in the Empire". I take great pleasure in asking our guest-speaker to address us. Mr. Graham. (Applause)

Mr. John Graham: Ladies and Gentlemen: I should like first of all to say how much I appreciate the generous gesture which prompted you to invite me here today. When accepting I did not regard your invitation as a personal one to me, but rather as a tribute to the Scottish Development Council, which I have the honour to represent.

Although this is my first visit to your wonderful country, and to the Canadian National Exhibition, I should like to stress that it is not the first occasion, and I hope not the last, on which my Council has participated in that Exhibition. As a matter of fact, this is the third year in which we have taken part in your Exhibition on the lake shore. In 1936 and 1937 we had Scottish Exhibits, when Mr. W. C. Kirkwood, the General Manager of the Council, came over to take charge.

As you are perhaps aware, the Scottish Development Council promoted the great Empire Exhibition in Glasgow last year. Our hands were, therefore, more than full with that great project, and much as we should have liked to do so, it was not possible for us to be represented in Canada in 1938.

Now, I am three thousand miles away from home and many thoughts come to my mind on which I should like to discourse. Unfortunately, time does not permit me to do more than touch on some of them.

First of all, the advent of war is very upsetting, and it has upset me in a personal way, and so far as I had all my notes prepared to address you under peace time conditions. The subject matter which I had dealt with was not particularly appropriate for war time conditions, and at the last moment I had more or less to revise all the notes I had prepared. Therefore, I must ask you to make allowance for any discrepancies in my remarks.

Now, Mr. President, I consider it is my first duty to congratulate the City of Toronto on its wonderful Exhibition. Sixty-one years is a very long time and the fact that it has continued and developed throughout that time shows that it indeed serves not only a useful and practical purpose, but it is also, and we Scotchmen think this is of some importance, a financial success. The Canadian Exhibition has a world-wide reputation and it speaks very well indeed, I assure you, for those associated with its administration.

As I say, we promoted the Empire Exhibition in 1938, and as a result of that we gleaned a knowledge of the many and diverse difficulties which confront those who want to put over a large scale Exposition. I can assure we have always been very pleased indeed with the results that have arisen from our participation in your Exhibition, and following the recent visit of Their Majesties, the King and Queen, I was confident that this year I should have been able to present a glowing report. Unfortunately, the disastrous international developments in Europe during the last few days have entirely upset the normal course. As the poet, Robert Burns, so aptly put it, "The best laid plans o' mice and men gang aft aglee". Instead of coming out here and being able to carry out the objects we had in mind when we decided to participate, I have been more or less enjoying—not enjoying, but having an unofficial holiday, because when I try to introduce the subject of what Scotland has to offer industrialists, the talk invariably turns to: "What do the people at home think of the present position, and how are they reacting to it?", and try as I would, I could not get away from it.

You will perhaps forgive a personal note, Mr. President. When I arranged to come out here, I did so thinking I would not know a soul. About two months before I left somebody came into my room and announced that the Secretary of the Canadian National Exhibition at Toronto had called to see about the Exhibit, and when that gentleman entered, I was very surprised to find Mr. Gordon Dalgleish, a man who qualified as a Chartered Accountant in the same office as myself. Again, about the first person I met in the Exhibition was an old school friend, who is with me today. I had not seen him for seventeen years, so the world is a very small place indeed.

I would like to say also how much we, in Glasgow, appreciated the support accorded to the Empire Exhibition held in Glasgow last year by your Government of Canada. No doubt the Exhibition was visited by many of you, and perhaps it is not necessary for me to do more than refer to the fact that it was held. I venture to suggest that it served a useful purpose and left its hall-mark in Scotland and in the Empire. In regard to the financial side, when I left, all the buildings had not been disposed of, but it was possible that the Government might take over some of them as stores and training halls. If the remaining buildings are disposed of at a reasonable figure at all, we have no reason to anticipate a substantial deficit on the Exhibition at all. As a matter of fact, the guaranteed fund for our Exhibition was about £750,000, and I shall be surprised when I get back if I find there will be a call of more than three or four shillings on the guarantor. So I think we can feel quite pleased with our Exhibition.

Now, I have only been in Canada for a period of two weeks, and it is my first visit to this side of the world, and as much of that time has been spent either in the Exhibition or in the City of Toronto, I am afraid I have not had much opportunity of forming a very accurate impression of the country as a whole. Nevertheless, perhaps the impressions I have had, as a stranger in the land for the first time, will be of interest to you. I must admit, before I arrived here, I had always visualized Canada as a vast land, with illimitable tracts of rolling prairie, many lochs or lakes, and practically no industrial activity, and not much else. I was, therefore, more than pleasurably surprised, not only to learn of, but to see the extensive developments which have been made in your country in the industrial field. Again, Canada, as compared with our own small country of Scotland, gives us a totally different idea of distances. I think a parallel might be found in the remark of the old Scotsman who had been making his first trip off the beaten track. After travelling for some miles his guide pointed out to him a very, very large animal, indeed. The old Scotsman asked what kind of an animal it was. "O, that is a moose", said his guide. "By Jove! If that is a moose, I would like to see your rats", replied the Scotsman. Having regard to the comparative size of your moose and rats, I think your country compares as to distances on the same basis with ours.

As regards the people of this great land, I do not think I need do more than quote the advice which the Duke of Montrose gave in 1937 to a party of Scottish hotel keepers who were about to start on a trip to Canada. Telling them what they might expect by way of hospitality, the Duke said he hoped they had all gone into training beforehand for a few weeks, and that they had made arrangements on their return home to enter a nursing home for a fortnight's rest—such being the hospitality of the Canadians. From personal experience I can endorse the Duke's sentiments and I must say how thankful I am that I had the benefit of his advice before I left home, and was thereby enabled to grace and prepare myself for the veritable onslaught of Canadian hospitality. It is overwhelming.

Now, Mr. President, many of your members will no doubt be wondering what the Scottish Development Council is and does, and why we have come to Toronto to exhibit at the Canadian National Exhibition. Well, the work of the Scottish Development Council, very briefly, is to assist all fields of Scottish industry, generally. We started off in 1931 as a very small body indeed. As a matter of fact, at that time there was only one member of the staff, the present General Manager, who was then the Secretary. Later on he acquired a Secretary and a typist. Funds are derived from purely voluntary sources, and at the beginning it was a very uphill fight indeed to carry on in a very modest and small way. However, throughout the seven years we have been in existence, we have progressed, I think, from strength to strength, with the result that including all the various organizations and projects which we have put into being, our staff numbers altogether some sixty people, and we also enjoy the confidence of the United Kingdom Government, in so far as the Scottish Office comes to us and asks us to carry out certain plans. We also enjoy the confidence of the home Government, in so far as the Exhibitions for the various areas in Scotland have also been asked to make use of our organization, whenever possible.

We have taken part in Exhibitions and Fairs all over the world, but when we come to Canada we do not feel so much that we are going to a foreign country. We feel that we are coming home, for after all we have so much in common. I might remind you that our President, Lord Elgin, is a grandson of a former Governor-General of Canada.

During my short but happy stay, up to the moment, I have been astounded by the large number of Scottish people here who have been anxious to hear of home. It is a good feeling, Mr. President, to have the opportunity of telling these Scots—now Canadians and our loss and your gain—of their native land and I submit that it is good to know that home still means something to those who left Scotland many years ago.

This brings to my mind, Mr. President, the fact that Empire history is indeed enriched by Scots and, on behalf of my native country, I make no unfair boast when I say that not an insignificant percentage of my countrymen have given to the progress of Canada. A few moments ago I mentioned Lord Elgin's grandfather who was at one time Governor-General of Canada. J. L. Morison, who wrote on Elgin's life said in the last paragraph of his book: "Through eight years Lord Elgin learned to understand and sympathize with the instincts, ambitions and powers from which the demand for self-government proceeded. Latterly he was able to anticipate his ministers' desires and to govern Canada, rather as a Canadian than as a representative of the Imperial Government. He taught Canadians the place and limits of race feeling; he led them from petty hates and obsolete political argumentation into quieter regions of practical administration; assisted them to material prosperity, and made them think of British North America as something greater than the disconnected group of jealous provinces. Faced with the turbulence and blunders of a young democracy he never lost faith or courage, and he believed that liberty might be trusted to complete the work which he had begun. Seventy years of unbroken progress have justified his confidence; and the best memorial is the young Canadian nation."

Again, the present Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir (I should say John Buchan) is a Scot, and, harking to the past, who could forget Lord Mount Stephen and Lord Strathcona, men who carried on the great adventure? Not only should we think of these eminent men of the past who left a living memorial to their own efforts, but also of the Bruces, Smiths, Mackenzies, McDonalds, McTavishs, Stewarts and the Frasers, and how many more names could I give to support my claim that Canada has received tens of thousands of men who brought with them the rich tradition of my race, habits of industry, honesty, piety and thrift, and respect for the law. I am confident you will support me when I claim that Scots more than any other single race have stamped their character upon the institutions of this great Dominion. I am not overlooking the great part that Englishmen have played, especially at this time when unity is so much called for, but it is with these thoughts of Scotland's part in young Canada that I now venture to express my views upon those matters which we must regard as of vital importance, particularly at this stage in the history of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I shall refer to Empire trade and, especially shall I say, Empire consolidation. Of one thing I am firmly convinced, the British Empire today is aptly described as a family. Long may that continue. The British Empire has been built up on confidence and trust, trust in the man on the spot, trust that he will carry out his duties. These are the unseen ties that bind us together, coupled with common kinship and the link of trade and commerce.

My own view of Empire trade under normal conditions is trading between individuals in communities, between the provinces within a nation and between nations one with the other in the Empire itself. Empire trade should not be regarded as organized or nationalized by governments. It should be trade without restriction between the component parts of the British Empire. Other nations may use certain forms of propaganda with a view to misinterpretation, yet I am thoroughly confident in suggesting that our place today is to take such steps that will safeguard "trade within the Empire".

I believe that it is a fair thing to say that the country which believes in itself, which has an ideal actuated by a principle and looks forward to the future has the opportunity of making itself fit as a nation and helpful to the great population of nations and to the great race to which we all belong.

It is certainly a proper thing for this Empire with its privileges and its opportunities to put itself in a position as strong and as developed as possible. If we do this, we are making our contribution in a helpful role in the civilization of the world.

The Ottawa Agreements laid the foundation. They brought trade within the Empire out of a deep depression, and I hope we can all look forward, beyond the present chaos to the future and make it our business to see that from this structure trade within the Empire will be fully maintained and expanded. I am also hopeful that once order has been restored to a tortured Europe we shall see a greater exchange of goods between Canada and Scotland.

Such is the Empire in peace time. But we are no longer at peace—most unfortunately we are at war. For our common safety it is doubly imperative that we co-operate and support each other. The United Kingdom now needs the support of all the Dominions and the Colonies—morally, in man power, and in essential war supplies. As regards the feelings of Canada to the Home Country, one has only to walk along any street in Toronto where there are registration depots to see the whole-hearted sympathy which the youth and manhood of the nation feel toward the Home Country and the stand she has taken against the threat to democracy. I know, too, that the Home Country can count on Canada for supplies of the essential commodities and materials—but it is not only a question of supplies. It is almost certain that as long as the existing neutrality laws continue it will be a matter of extreme difficulty for Great Britain to raise borrowings from the purchase of imports of war materials. It is therefore essential that all those who have the interests of the Home Country deeply at heart should buy as much as possible from England and Scotland to create the necessary export credits against imports which the Home Country will be making.

I appreciate that as keen business men you must feel sure any orders you place will be delivered on contract date, without fail. Having regard for conditions in Europe, you may have doubt on that point. In that connection, I think I can state with absolute conviction that the United Kingdom Government has already taken steps to ensure that an adequate section of Great Britain's industrial and manufacturing resources will be continued on ordinary production in order that our export trade will be maintained. Her export trade is of vital importance to the Home Country, both by reason of the necessity of providing employment in non-war industries and of retaining our overseas markets but, above all, it is of vital importance in enabling the United Kingdom to finance imports, she requires so much.

As I have said, you may rest assured that any orders placed in the United Kingdom will be in normal trade course. Again, equally important, is the maintenance of shipping facilities to carry goods from the supplier to the consumer. That is also receiving attention from the United Kingdom Government. While, since the formal declaration of war, United Kingdom shipping has not been running to normal schedules, the convoy system as announced by the United Kingdom Admiralty is already in operation, and as a result it will be possible to maintain frequent, although perhaps irregular sailings.

Now, the British Empire was the first League of Nations and if it should fall and fail, I don't know what would happen in the world in general. I think we must all admit the Commonwealth or the British Empire is the greatest political experiment yet tried, and the success of which means so much to mankind generally. Again I would remind Canadians, particularly, of the increased responsibility placed on them under the Statute of Westminster.

Now, I have been rather perturbed these past few days at various rumours that have reached me to the effect that some Canadians feel rather insecure regarding fulfilment of future contracts placed with the United Kingdom, and I can only hope, therefore, that the foregoing remarks which I have just made will allay their anxiety in that connection. Our British exporters have been truly called front line troops. We, in the United Kingdom, can only continue to buy and pay for our vital needs in munitions, foodstuffs, and other supplies of war by selling our own goods overseas. I know that Canada feels as strongly as we do at home, the common ties of blood brotherhood which bind us so closely together, and we would ask you to support the Home Country at this grave time in her history by buying whenever possible all the things you may require from the United Kingdom, and thus make a further valuable contribution to our common cause.

I mentioned my own particular organization just a moment or two ago. I did not deal with it in any great detail. We were formed in 1931 with very small beginnings. What have we accomplished? What do we hope to do? When I came over here I hoped to be able to contact Canadian manufacturers and place them in contact with manufacturers on the other side and increase exchange of commodities, but I had also hoped, and perhaps more importantly, to contact those Canadian manufacturers who exported in sufficient quantities to the Home Country to make them give thought to the possibility of establishing factories in Scotland. Similarly, we in Scotland have manufacturers who might find it possible to establish factories in Canada. Both countries could do with the new industries. Now, to accomplish that, the first question the Canadian manufacturer asks is: "What has Scotland to offer to the potential industrialist setting up a factory in that country?" The answer is "Scotland has a very great deal indeed to offer." Some two years ago my own Council, through the assistance of the Government and the assistance of the Commissioners of Scotland, set up outside of Glasgow—a state—The Scottish Industrial States, Limited, at Illington, a mile beyond the boundaries of Glasgow. That state was laid out in the most modern, up-to-date lines. The management of the estate provides factories, either to rent, or under option to purchase or by outright purchase. Manufacturers may require capital. The Scottish Development Council have avenues whereby we can finance anything up to fifty per cent. of the capital required, and finance it on extremely convenient and easy terms. Again, if a manufacturer's business has been going backward, and he feels an up-to-date factory, re-organization and so forth would pull him through, and enable him to expand, the state will further help him to do that.

Now, these are very great considerations, indeed, for any manufacturer. Once the Old Land has her house in order again any manufacturer who is considering establishing a branch factory over there would be well advised to give a thought to the Trading State at Illington. Scotland, too, has an abundant source of skilled and unskilled labour, both male and female. Local taxation is quite comparable with any place in the world, and any place in the United Kingdom. We have an abundant power and water supply. Electricity supplies are excellent and all the other amenities demanded by industry—transport by railway and sea—are there.

So, in concluding, while as I say, my main object in coming over here was to try and induce Canadians to establish factories in my country, that has been knocked in the head. However, I hope my visit has not been in vain, and once we get over the present situation you will be able to give a thought to Scotland when considering extending your business.

I thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: I am not making any apologies, but our guest-speaker will no doubt make allowance for the attendance today, at a time when so many duties are calling our members at this serious time. You have listened to a very interesting address in regard to what the Scots are doing in their typical way, and I am sure we all appreciate the efforts being made to improve commercial relations with Canada. I, therefore, on your behalf, extend to our guest-speaker today our appreciation and thanks for his address on this occasion, and we trust that he may enjoy a very safe voyage back to his native land.

(Applause)

"HOSPITAL PROBLEMS IN PEACE AND WAR"

An Address by FREDERICK G. CARTER, M.D., A.B.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, September 28, 1939

The President: Gentlemen, and Listeners on the Air: It is an honour and a pleasure to introduce the guest-speaker of today, an honour which is emphasized by the prominence of the degrees and positions held by him, in the medical profession.

Dr. Frederick G. Carter, Superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital in Cleveland, Ohio, one of the largest in that State, has had a noteworthy career in medicine, holding at times the Presidency of the Minnesota Hospital Association, the Ohio Hospital Association, and the American College of Hospital Administrators, and he has now received the signal honour of appointment to the office of President-Elect of the American Hospital Association. He is a Fellow of the American College of Hospital Administrators, and holds his degree of M.D. from Johns Hopkins University Medical School, which institution is of much interest to Canadians in view of its past administration, and his A.B. from the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Carter is attending the 41st Annual Convention of the American Hospital Association and Allied Societies held in Toronto this week.

The subject matter of Dr. Carter's address is of prime importance to humanity, not only in times of peace, but in conservation during war. I take much pleasure in introducing Dr. Frederick G. Carter, who will speak on "Hospital Problems in Peace and War". (Applause)

Frederick G. Carter, M.D., A.B.: Mr. President, Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: I want to assure you that it is a very great pleasure to have this opportunity of appearing before you today to talk to you about some of the things that are going on in the hospital section of the social structure. I come to you today as a representative of the American Hospital Association, although I must confess that after the strenuous week that we have had I am not clear in my own mind, or even my own thinking, as to whether I am a representative or an exhibit. At any rate, I bring you the greetings and good wishes of the hospitals of North America. Let us hope that your lives may be so ordered that you may never have use for our ministrations at a future date. As men interested in affairs of life in general, some of you may want to know a little about the things that are going on in our particular segment of the social structure.

As many of you know, Toronto, this week, was to have been the capital, so to speak, of the hospital world, but events have transpired which have made it impossible for many representatives of other continents to meet with us to discuss hospitals and hospital problems. The war clouds which have been gathering for several years now have reached the storm stage and the world is confronted with a great conflict which inevitably must bring the type of institution which I represent into a kind of prominence which none of us enjoy. The deliberations which we have looked forward to with so much pleasure are tinged with a note of sadness for our mission in life is to bring peace, comfort, freedom from pain, and joy in living to those who suffer and are in need. Our field of action, as a matter of fact, represents the very antithesis of war. Yet when war comes, as it has to you, I think you will find that the hospitals will not be found wanting. Our philosophy, I think, is pretty well expressed in a little poem. The author's name has slipped my mind, but it seems to me it is quite applicable to the situation we all find ourselves in:

'Tain't no use to grumble and complain,
It's just as cheap and easy to rejoice,
For when God sorts out the weather and sends rain,
Then rain's my choice.

We take as much pride as you do in the fact that one of your illlustrious citizens of Toronto, Dr. G. Harvey Agnew, is the esteemed President of the American Hospital Association. He has worked untiringly and unceasingly for the success of the series of meetings which we are holding here this week, and our experiences in these meetings are going to result in a very definite enrichment of our lives in hospital work.

I cannot allow the occasion to pass without voicing the gratitude that we all feel is due the citizenry of Toronto for the splendid reception which is being accorded us. We all know too well that the staging of a convention of the proportions of the one we are attending is a gigantic task, requiring many months of arduous preparation. We know, too, that in this case the work has been made doubly difficult by the intervention of war. Our hearts and our sympathies go out to you as they do to the peoples of all nations involved in this great crisis. That your citizens should have carried on with their plans for our entertainment under the circumstances is certainly a tribute to their solidity and their mental balance.

When I think of war I am reminded of a little Norwegian story that has an application in our lives that it seems to me is quite worth while. I don't know how many of you men have children but all of you have had experience with children, seven, eight, ten or twelve years of age. Maybe some of you have attempted to entertain a child on a rainy Sunday aftrnoon when you wanted to read the newspaper or a magazine, or have a sleep. Little Alfred was such a boy and he was being entertained by his father on a rainy Sunday afternoon, or he was supposed to be entertained by his father, who also wanted to read a magazine in which he was very much interested. The boy kept coming back for new things to do and finally the father cut a map of the world from his magazine in small pieces and said, "Here, Alfred, you take this and take it over to the library and put it all together. That will keep you busy for the rest of the afternoon." In about fifteen minutes the boy called, "Daddy, it is all together. Come over and look at it." Daddy came over to the library and, sure enough, here was the world all put together, the mountains, the oceans and the seas and what-not all in place. He said, "Well, Alfred, you must be pretty smart in geography. You know a lot." Alfred said, "You know, Daddy, this was easy. I saw you taking the map out of the magazine, and I knew on the back of the map there was a man and I knew if I put the man together and fixed him up and made him right that the world would be all right. I turned it over and sure enough the world was all right." I think there is a philosophy in human relationships and human accomplishment in that story that is quite worth while.

Josh Billings expressed certain convictions about people in general when he said, "It ain't so much the ignorance of people that causes all the trouble in this world, it is their knowing so damned much that ain't so." I think you will realize from the things that have been going on in Europe that a great many people in Europe are believing things that aren't so, and have believed things that aren't so, and consequently our whole pattern of human relationships is affected by people who are believing things that aren't so.

But I am here to discuss current hospital problems. You know the term "hospital" in our day has come to have a far different meaning than it did prior to fifty years ago. We have learned so much about the care of the sick and injured, and about disease prevention, that institutions specializing in this field have become an absolute necessity.

I haven't liked the word "specializing", or the term "specialization, since I heard Dr. Morris Fishbein describe the specialist. Perhaps you have heard his description of the specialist as "an individual who knows more and more about less and less". If you follow that through to the logical conclusion eventually you get the person who knows everything about nothing. I wouldn't like to see that term applied to hospitals, having to do with the treatment and prevention of disease.

We have come to recognize more specialized institutions as hospitals. Up to fifty years ago or perhaps even less, hospitals attempted a blanket coverage of the entire field of charity. The Hotel Dieu, which is celebrating its 300th year in Quebec is one of the fine examples of the hospitals that attempted a blanket coverage of the field of charity, and that now restricts its efforts to the specialized type of thing I have been talking about.

In this transition from the hospital of the broad coverage of the field of charity to the more restricted institution we have provided a much more efficient method of caring for the sick, but with improvements have come complications. As medical care has become more and more complex it has become more and more costly and one of our great problems is to keep hospital costs down within reach of the largest possible number of people. This has become increasingly difficult because of dwindling philanthropy, decreased income from endowments, and increasing unemployment resulting in decreased ability to pay.

To fill the breach we have relied upon government subsidies of one kind or another in recent years, and in many instances community fund support has been very helpful. We have combed our business methods for economies. Hospital insurance, by whatever name we choose to call it, has mushroomed up, particularly in the last five years, to cover the hospital needs of about three and one-half million people on this continent. As most of you know, this is a scheme which, for small monthly payments, insures people against the hazards of hospitalization. Perhaps there is no real solution to our financial problems, but this insurance plan seems to be about the closest approach that we have thus far experienced. In Cleveland, my home city, about one-fifth to one-sixth of our income in hospitals comes from this source.

Then, too, people in general seem to be growing more and more conscious of the values inherent in hospital service in times of illness. Perhaps hospital insurance is stimulating this interest. At any rate, the utilization of hospital facilities appears to be on the increase. This trend brings us face to face with the problem of extending the scope of our efforts through new construction and modernization of old construction.

Medical practice is changing rapidly and the hospital becomes more and more essential to the type of practice which is developing. It is the one place where all of the intricate techniques of modern practice may be assembled and utilized to the greatest advantage. Efficiency in production in any field results from the strategic assemblage of materials, labour and tools. We haven't reached perfection in these details yet. We have made it possible to bring together the materials and tools but part of the labour is still not efficiently utilized. Doctors still maintain private offices in detached locations and treat their patients in many hospitals. In their physical plants hospitals must eventually arrange to serve the medical profession better by helping them to concentrate their work in and around hospitals without in any way usurping the rights and privileges of the medical profession.

I think it might be well to state my firm belief that hospitals have no desire whatsoever to impose their ideas on the medical profession in this regard. The only function of a hospital, so far as the profession is concerned, is to serve that profession. We are the work-shops of the medical profession and we want to do everything we can to help them in the problems with which they are confronted.

Modern transportation has made it possible to construct hospitals of sizes that may be operated most efficiently. Motor ambulances move patients comfortably and safely to points where they may be cared for efficiently. In the State of Iowa the university hospitals of Iowa City maintain about twenty-five ambulances which are on the road every day bringing patients to Iowa City from all corners of the State. This arrangement is not without its drawbacks, however. In North Carolina we find the very opposite situation, the Duke Foundation having erected, or being interested in the erection, of many small rural hospitals over the state to care for patients in locations relatively near their homes. The authorities down there hope, too, that their programme will be the means of attracting competent doctors to rural practices by offering them first class hospital facilities in the rural sections. Both ideas have merit—the one typified by the University of Iowa, and the other by the rural hospital scheme in North Carolina.

We also have a number of educational jobs to look after. Where will our supply of nurses come from if we do not offer our facilities for use in the education and training of this group? Doctors, too, look to us for a large part of their training after graduating from the medical schools. Dietitians, social workers, laboratory technicians, and many others continue to depend on us for their instruction and experience. Perfection in the treatment of sick people does not come from text books. It comes from contacts with sick people who are to be found in greatest concentration in hospitals, and these are the places where people must be trained to care for the sick.

A somewhat different facet of the educational problem has to do with the enlightenment of the public as to health matters. In this connection we hear much these days of publicity programmes. Hospitals must be alive to the importance of good publicity. We don't want to misunderstand our purposes in maintaining strong publicity programmes in hospitals. We do not have in mind the putting of two chickens in every pot, or two cars in every garage, or two appendixes in every belly. In our publicity programmes we merely wish to make the public acutely aware of the many good things we can do for sick people. We want to teach them to come to us without fear or prejudice, and leave us feeling that everything possible has been done to make them as good as new, and those are the only motives we have in our publicity programmes.

It is only in recent years that we have learned that we are using more intelligence in buying a can of beans than we were in buying labour. From twenty-five to fifty per cent. of our expenditures go into commodities, equipment, and things of that nature. We reason that this money must be spent wisely so we hire purchasing agents to study our needs, draw up careful specifications covering these needs, follow up their purchases to be certain that we get what we bargained for, and that the items purchased best fit the conditions under which they are used. The remaining fifty to seventy-five per cent. of our expenditures go into salaries, yet, it is only recently that some of us have come to realize that we must use as much diligence and care in fitting people to jobs as we do in fitting foods to jaded appetites. We are fast setting up personal departments in our institutions to do the thing in the labour market that the purchasing agent does for us in the commodity markets.

I haven't made mention of some of the problems arising out of our relationships with the various units of government, for the reason that these relationships differ quite markedly in your country from those obtaining in my country. Across the boundary I am quite certain that all of us might welcome governmental assistance if ways and means can be worked out of freeing us of the threat of concurrent political sabotage of our institutions and our ideals. With reference to the part the government may play in hospitals, it seems to me that many of us are very, very prematurely taking the view that the government is going to take over the hospitals and before long there will be no voluntary hospitals. I think that that idea or that thought is very premature. It seems to me that the time when the government may interest itself in hospitals to that extent is very distant, indeed. We are all very appreciative of the efforts that are being made in voluntary hospitals and the efforts that have been made in the past to take care of the hospitalization problems of the people, both in Canada and in the United States.

No doubt all of you will agree that we have enough to worry about in the hospital field, without any additions to our burdens, but now we find that complications have set in. What is going to happen to our institutions?

It may interest you to know that no later than last Saturday, the Board of Trustees of the American Hospital Association spent the greater part of the day discussing the preparedness and the place of hospitals in the war picture, regardless of whether the hospital is located in warring or neutral nations. In that meeting we also called attention to the fact that the American Hospital Association and other Hospital Associations—the Catholic Hospital Association and the Protestant Hospital Association—all of these organizations recognize their obligations to their Canadian members as being fully as binding as their obligations to the members of the United States. We are an international association and we have many members in Canada, as well as the United States, and there are many things we can do for our members in both countries, and we fully intend to carry out our obligations in respect to our members in those countries.

Quite naturally the effect of the war upon member hospitals of our Association will depend to a great extent upon whether or not the country in which a given institution is located is a belligerent or a neutral country, but in either case there will be very definite and positive effects. I suppose, in present day parlance, those terms are all wrong. Perhaps they are somewhat medieval. We used to think nations at war would say they are at war, and those not at war would say they weren't. At any rate, at the present time we have a belligerent nation that tells the world it is at war and other people, too, regard it as being at war. We have perhaps neutrals who recognize the fact they are not at war, and do not hesitate to say they are not at war. We have the type of nation that is supposed to be neutral which has certain inclinations, one way or another, that are friendly toward certain situations. That gives another classification of those who are supposedly neutral. Then, we have what we call brigands or thugs who shoot without warning and construct their own code of conduct as they go on. Then, I think we have a finer classification in this picture—the vultures, who wait around until the kill and then step in to get all they can get out of it. I am going to be old-fashioned and talk about the neutrals and the belligerents.

If we remain neutral we are likely to find our financial picture complicated by the higher prices which prevail in war time. This is particularly true of surgical instruments and scientific equipment, much of which is imported from abroad. Interruption of trade channels with both neutrals and belligerents curtails supply, increases demand, and prices rise. There is much greater demand for our domestic products because of the fact that large proportions of those normally engaged in peace time pursuits in warring nations are occupied with military, naval or air activities. Thus we compete with foreign buying power even for domestic goods of all kinds.

Our peace time practices are changed by the constant threat of war and the possibility of becoming a belligerent nation. Preparedness means sweeping changes in our educational programmes for doctors, nurses, and others. We have been talking about that sort of thing this week, what we are going to do in the United States if we get in the war, and some of the things that Canada is already doing. When war threatens, young men and young women are inclined to desire preparation for medical and nursing service in much greater numbers than they do in normal times. This may result in an over-production of personnel for these professions which later reflects itself in the post-war civilian economy.

Clerical details increase because of numerous governmental inquiries. Test mobilization procedures interrupt normal schedules of activity.

These are just a few suggestions as to the effects of a major war upon civilian hospitals in a neutral country. All of these effects and many others, too, are operative in a country at war. Hospitals must learn to operate with restricted personnel in order to free as many skilled people as possible for service in military and naval hospitals. I sincerely hope that in this war we won't make the mistake that we made in the last war, in taking the personnel of hospitals for military service, without regard to what we are doing to the hospitals whose personnel we are taking for war purposes. I believe that all of us are conscious of that particular weakness in the last war and we are going to see that it doesn't occur in this war. The Canadian Hospital Council meeting last week had this problem very much before it.

Hospitals must accelerate their educational and training programmes in time of war, in order to furnish replacements in the military medical service. The type of training must be adapted to military needs. Here is something that seems quite important. In war time we can give a whole lot more thought to the question of reviving dormant skill. Many nurses have given up the nursing profession, perhaps have married and have homes of their own, and we will have to give a great deal of attention to the revival of the dormant skills. Civilian hospitalization must be sidetracked as far as possible in order to free beds and other facilities for military and naval casualities. I say sidetracked, but of course there are many problems from the civilian standpoint that will have to be taken care of through and after the war. Hospitals will have to use substitutes for many of the supplies formerly used. Any of you who had surgical experience in the last war will recall the crepe paper bandages which just wouldn't stay put under any circumstances. That is an example of the type of substitution we encounter in war time and the things which we may again encounter during this period which we are going through at the present time .

Hospitals must continue with programmes of research. You will recall that quite a number of practices and procedures in the development of new drugs and biologicals came out of the last war. Food conservation becomes a necessity. Techniques must be speeded up, revised, and new ones developed. I think the orthopædic branch of surgery got a great impetus in the last war with new methods of taking care of injuries of all kinds, and the orthopædic surgeon, with his knowledge of bone pathology and bone structure came right to the fore.

They also developed acclimatic service. Dr. MacEachern, who sits at my right, is very much interested in acclimatic service in hospitals throughout the country, and it has reached a degree of perfection not known at the time preceding the Great War. The handling of fractures is a totally different matter than it was at that time.

We should not overlook the matter of post-war adjustment, because a war does bring tremendous changes which may affect the lives of many generations to come. There can be little doubt that following the last war the centres of medical learning shifted from Europe to the Western Hemisphere. We find now in our hospitals and medical schools many visitors from European and South American countries, coming to us in Canada and the United States to learn the methods being used in these countries. I think there can be little doubt, too, that the war may be credited with the birth of a very great chemical industry on this continent, formerly centred pretty much in Germany. This shifting about of peace time pursuits determines the destinies of many nations and perhaps is more important in shaping the course of history than the immediate effects of changes in territorial boundaries. I might call your attention to the fact that should the time come when we in our country come into the war, and whether we do or not we must prepare for any eventuality whether it occurs or not, we have a tremendous amount of factual material on hand that we may use to enable us to organize our resources in the hospital field very rapidly. The College of Surgeons alone, in its office in Chicago, has some 50,000 records of investigations and surveys of hospitals in the United States of twenty-five beds or over. We know what our personnel is. We know what our physical equipment is, and many of these peace time activities are going to be of great help to us in any preparedness programme we may undertake.

I could talk to you at great length about preparedness in civilian hospitals, of the things we might do. I have only intimated some of the things we have been talking about here in Toronto in a very brief way, but the time is short and rather than proceed further with any discussion, I would like to say in conclusion, and point out to you that hospitals demonstrate a way of life and a philosophy of human relationships that are worthy of emulation. No hospital is sufficient unto itself. I think it is fair to say that the hospitals of North America and the hospitals of Canada and the United States have not developed as groups, independent and apart from the rest of the hospitals of the world. All of us in the hospital field have borrowed and imitated, and we like to think that we have also contributed to the end that sick people everywhere may have the benefit of collective thinking in all languages about the problems of health and disease. Throughout the universe we have felt that we have established bonds of friendship and mutual helpfulness which transcend and overshadow the barbarism and petty bickerings of better known types of international relationships. It seems to me there is a cosmopolitanism about hospitals and hospital activities, wherever they are, that the world might note with profit.

I am very grateful to you for having listened to this discussion of hospitals and I hope in any consideration of the needs and interests of hospitals in Canada that you will put your best thought on both the civilian and military problems, and above all, that you will not lose faith in the voluntary hospitals of Canada, which have been the backbone, perhaps I might say, of the work in this country, just as they have in the work of our country. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the Honourable Dr. Herbert Bruce has kindly consented, on your behalf, to extend our thanks to Dr. Carter.

HON. DR. HERBERT A. BRUCE: Mr. President, Gentlemen: Those who are laymen here I am sure have listened with a great deal of interest to the excellent account of what hospitals are doing not only in America, but in Canada, and all over the world, in the alleviation of the sufferings of the sick. We are, therefore, very grateful to Dr. Carter for his very splendid address.

Dr. Carter has spoken about co-operation between medical men and surgeons in different countries of the world, and it just recalls to me a memory of what the United States medical men did in the last war. Long before America came into the war, they sent medical men to join the British Medical Service in France, and help them in their work there. I recall that when I went to France in 1917 as a consulting surgeon, one of the hospitals in my area was situated in Etats, and it was staffed entirely by the Presbyterian unit of New York. Dr. Darragh was the Chief-of-Staff. Dr. Brewer also was connected with that hospital, and a number of other very distinguished men, whose names would be well known to all of you. They took over a British hospital there and relieved them of their entire duty, both professional and nursing. It was a very large hospital of about 1500 beds. In addition to that many surgeons came over from America. Some of the leading surgeons, notably Dr. Harvey Cushing, were attached to the British hospital, and in an area where he was very much needed he performed his splendid work in connection with injuries of the head and brain. Dr. Crile also came over and was attached to the British hospital at Rouen. Dr. Brewer served in France for a long time before the United States came into the war.

Early in 1918, the medical men in France were very hard worked. The resources of the British Medical Service were strained to the utmost and it was necessary to get more surgeons. I was asked to come on a mission to America, accompanied by Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, and Sir James MacKenzie. We went first to Chicago and attended the meeting of the American Medical Association, and I attended the meeting of the American Surgical later on in Cincinnati. We spoke there and in many cities in the United States, with the object, first, of interesting the people in what was going on in France and, secondly, in the hope that we would stimulate more medical men to join the service and come over and help us. As a result of our visit, under the kindly, benevolent leadership of the late Dr. Franklin Martin, we visited many cities, and one hundred American surgeons joined up and went overseas. I have no doubt that the United States will co-operate with us and with England and France in a medical way to the fullest extent possible, even though that great Republic may for a period avoid being involved in this way.

We are very proud of the fact that we have had in the position of President of this organization one of our distinguished Canadians, Dr. Harvey Agnew, and that you are succeeding him, Dr. Carter.

I see at the head table today, an old friend, Dr. MacEachern, formerly of Vancouver, and one of our very distinguished medical men who has been doing splendid work in Chicago in connection with the American College of Surgeons, first as a co-Director with Dr. Franklin Martin, and now as a Director. I don't know who he is co with now, but I am sure he is pretty well running the show, himself. We are very proud of the work that he has done for hospitals and for medical men on this continent.

I want to express your thanks, Gentlemen, for the splendid address which Dr. Carter has given us today and to wish him the best of luck in his work for this Association during the coming year. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: I just want to express on your behalf our appreciation of the number of distinguished medical guests we have at our head table today.

The meeting is adjourned.

"HITLERISM"

AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE C. P. BEAUBIEN, B.A., LL.L., K.C.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, October 5, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: We are indeed highly honoured today in having one of our distinguished and gifted French-Canadians as our guest-speaker. Senator Beaubien is well known through his public service, and especially for his representations of Canada overseas. He has been entrusted with special missions to France on four occasions—in 1919, 1920, 1922 and 1923. In 1921, Senator Beaubien negotiated for the Canadian Government the Franco-Canadian Trade Treaty. He has also been honoured as a Canadian delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, in September 1931; and he represented the Canadian Government at the Pan-American Postal Conferences, held in Madrid in the same year. Senator Beaubien was President of the Canadian section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1932, 1933 and 1934, and he attended, as a delegate, the Conference of the Union at Geneva in 1919—at Vienna in 1922—at Washington in 1925—at Paris in 1927 and at Berlin in 1928. He was Joint Chairman of the National Committee of the Jacques Cartier Centenary in 1934, and at the request of France, attended the celebration held the same year, in France. For his services rendered on his many missions to France he was made Commander of the Legion of Honour by that country.

I have much pleasure in introducing Senator C. P. Beaubien, whose subject will be "Hitlerism".

(Applause)

THE HONOURABLE C. P. BEAUBIEN, B.A., LL.L., K.C.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I want to say to my good friend, Dr. Gaby, how thankful I am to him for all the nice things he has said about me. There is one thing that I cannot forget: it is true that my span of life is getting rapidly longer, and as I look back to all these mile-stones that my good friend has brought back to my memory I find it a matter of sober reflection. I thank him for this and I hope that you will extend to me the full measure of your sympathy. I say sympathy, because you see, I have just returned from France, where I have been speaking French for several months, and now that I have to handle your own language, I find that I have to hang my tongue on quite a new swivel. In this difficulty, I know I shall have the advantage of your kindness on my side.

As I look around this table and over this audience I know how I am honoured by men with a long and glorious career, men who are gifted with the glory of words, men who have great deeds to their credit, and men of business who appreciate language only to the extent that it determines action.

I am mindful of a story that was told to me years ago by an excellent friend, a very brilliant lawyer of Montreal. He said, "Senator, you know, the first time I spoke in public, I went to my old home and I was met there by an old uncle of mine. He accompanied me to the husting and told me, 'My little boy, don't forget that I have little patience, and the longer your speech shall be, the shorter shall be my patience'." Besides, there is the old precept, as you know which says, "What orators lack in depth they make up in space."

Now, bearing that in mind and having you for my audience, I shall endeavour, in as short a time as possible, to put the burden of my message before you.

Fate has pitted us against Hitlerism;—and I thought it would be useful for us to ascertain what kind of fighting machine Hitler has forged from within and also bolstered from without, in order to better see what are its strong points and its weak spots.

Lord Baldwin has said of Hitler that he has a brilliant but erratic mind. That is not quite sufficient for me. Besides, Hitler is a fanatical type of a totally new specie.

Since the dawn of history, as you know, autocrats have always endeavoured to gather about their rule the great forces of their nations. To the masses the Roman Emperors gave bread and circuses. Napoleon thought it wise to tell the French people that they would have the free exercise of their religion and that he would rspect the sacredness of property. Hitler has been totally different. He has disregarded all these precautions. Hitler has revealed himself a nihilist of the old Czarist type. He has levelled to the ground all the stabilizing elements of the Reich. Hitler has risen to power in fighting and dominating all great moral forces and material interests hitherto existing in Germany.

I need not refer to his horrible treatment of the Jews, or to the persecution of the Catholic Church, or, which is far worse, to his attacks on the Lutheran faith, to which the immense majority of the Germans belong. For years, all tenets of Christianity have been flouted and ridiculed by him, and even an attempt made to replace them by the superstition of an old Saxon idolatry. What has been the result? Capital has been pressed into the service of the state and, in great part, consumed. Liberty has been suppressed, not only in the individual, but even in the great and powerful masses of labour unions. The proletariat is powerless. It has not even the force to speak. Workmen are obliged to accept the domicile, work and wages meted out to them.

Parental authority has disappeared. Children are thrown in the same crucible where everything is seared out of their soul, except veneration, loyalty and obedience to Hitler, and the ambition to develop physically and to become good soldiers. The people of learning have gone. Professors have been ousted by storm troopers. The lights are going out in the German universities.

Hitler's colossal figure towers over the Reich and before him have been brought pastors and priests, gagged and helpless. Capitalists have been forced to pour their wealth at his feet. The great proletariat has gone by, fettered and tied. Parents have brought their children to him. The men of culture, those yet left, have gone by with bowed heads and broken hearts. All of them have moved out to the formations assigned to them. They are mere automats, stripped of all initiative and vision.

Why? The question that has come to my mind has often been, why has Hitler exacted that terrible sacrifice from his people? That question for a long time I couldn't answer. Quite recently, a beautiful article in *L'Illustration* gave the answer—I see no other: Because Hitler wanted the German nation to be a huge mass in complete instability, which he could, at will, hurl against any foe, unattached by any influences, moral, material or even natural.

How has he accomplished this feat? How could he absolutely impose his domination over the Reich? He made wonderful use of his oratorical powers in perfect consonance with German humiliation, sufferings and aspirations. He boldly promised at first to pull Germany out of the sloth of the depression. He told the young men and the young girls that he would create living conditions such that they could marry, and immediately youth followed him, and so did an innumerable number of interested families. He spent the wealth of his country for work and wages and created artificial prosperity by which he deluded and enticed labour and capital. He appealed to Germanic pride to throw off what he called the shackles of the Treaty of Versailles. He told them to rise to the vision of the old Bismarckian Empire.

Well, the wise, the enlightened people were advised to remain with Hitler in order to moderate or to direct his course. They have been swept aside into subservience. How has Hitler bolstered his rule from without? If the people of brains and judgment stayed with Hitler to avoid a revolution, what is the responsibility of the nations outside of Germany? How did Hitler bolster his rule from without Germany? By following to the letter the tactics, written in *Mein Kampf,* years and years ago. Will you allow me to quote very shortly from that gospel of Hitler. It reads like this:

"The shrewd victor will, when possible, present his demands to the conquered piece-meal. He can be sure that a people without character—and such will be any people that voluntarily submits—will see no sufficient reason for going to war over any one of his separate encroachments. The more extortions of this kind are docilely accepted, the more unjustified will it seem to people finally to go to war over a new act of oppression, ostensibly isolated, but recurring; especially since they all in all have already put up with so much more and greater abuses in patient silence."

Hitler's prevision was exact. The nations of Europe receded step by step before the Nazi demands and menaces. They endeavoured to prevent a world cataclysm; unfortunately, they hastened it. Now, Hitler has a colossal fighting machine, of which nobody doubts that he has sole command, unattached in any way by any moral reason or material interest. It is a great advantage for one who intends to wage a war of conquest without a shadow of justification. But if Hitler has a powerful machine, it isn't altogether without its weaknesses. Shall we rapidly see what they are?

Mr. Louis Marlio, a very remarkable French economist, and a member of the French Institute, which is very highly regarded, as you know, in France, published an article in which he said: "In building up his war machine, Hitler has ruined the Reich. It is left without gold and without credit. Germany had an unfavourable balance at the end of last year of 450 million marks. Germany pays its creditors in cash to the extent of 60 per cent. only, and 40 per cent. in acknowledgments, the use of which is restricted to the payment of future taxes.

Germany's working classes are having to accept beggarly wages. A stenographer gets less than $4.50 a week, a chauffeur or a miner gets less than $6.00 a week, and a skilled artisan less than $9.00 a week. All these wages are subject to regular taxation and, of course, to innumerable contributions that have nothing voluntary but the title.

The workmen are obliged to work sixty hours a week and more. They are tired. The equipment of the railways has suffered from wear and tear, and so has the equipment of all the industrial concerns."

Liberty has been totally banished from the Reich. You read in the press recently that two people were arrested for listening to a forbidden broadcast. Germany is completely severed from the rest of the world.

Surely, in this pent-up mass there must be an explosive force that is growing and therefore, there must be a growing compressive power which in turn must be taken away from the striking forces of the armies. How many divisions will be required to keep subdued the Czechs and the Poles? Besides, let us not forget that an autocrat is tied very closely to success.

May I remind you that at the gates of Vienna, Napoleon refused a slight concession in the articles of capitulation, and he said to Metternich: "Your Emperor is king by the Grace of God and, with any concession, he still will remain king. I am but a soldier of fortune, and I cannot recede a step." Hitler is fighting with one hand on the throat of his people, keeping them down, gasping for liberty. The chains of Versailles, which he boasted he would break, have become fetters for every man, woman and child in the Reich.

Hitler is fighting now, as you know, with the opprobrium of all civilized nations weighing on his soul, with his army insufficiently trained, with his officers deficient. Hitler overestimates the power that he wields. Surely he underestimates his opponents.

This I would like to show you by a quotation from an independent authority. My friend to the right but a moment ago spoke to me of Hermann Rauschning. Rauschning was an officer, who was wounded during the last war, a friend and supporter of Hitler. Rauschning became President of the Senate of Dantzig in 1935. When the Nazi rule wanted to impose upon him the obligation of persecuting the different religions he sold his property and went out. In the last number of *Foreign Affairs* (no better review on international matters, I think, can be found in the world) in an article which I strongly recommend any man interested in the subject to read, Rauschning gives Hitler's impression of the power of Great Britain and of France and of the United States. Listen to this:

"In Nazi eyes England is a paper power, whose strategic position is in full disintegration. France is a dying nation, biologically unable any longer to play the part of a world power, much less a 'world people'. The United States is no longer a young nation. It is moreover a hodgepodge of peoples and so can never attain a stable political form. It is not ambitious, hence, by definition, not a 'world people'. The proper sort of touch from the outside at the right moment would send it reeling into revolution."

My Friends, England is a paper Power—yes, a paper Power! The signature of England at the bottom of a draft has been so trustworthy that for generations in the past—(Applause) that for generations in the past and still after the war she has been and still remains the banker of the world.

Germany, in 1921 and 1922, systematically forced the sale of her marks throughout the world, and then brazenly repudiated them. In 1923 I went to the Ruhr to ascertain whether it was true (it was denied even in Germany) that thousands of Germans worked under French Officers. I accepted the invitation of M. Poincaré to accompany Yves M. Trocquer, the Minister of Public Works, and I went about and saw the mines in the Ruhr. I was accompanied by four people, one of whom was the chauffeur. The others were officers, and I went through and saw thousands of Germans working under two French officers. But that is not the point. When I was in Dusseldorf, I paid 3 million marks for one stamp. I paid over 3 million marks for a newspaper, and listen to this: I paid 33 billion (not million) marks for a luncheon for five. I have the receipt. I have kept it. I bought paper of untold wealth—millions and millions, and brought them home. My brother, who is a broker in Montreal, has papered part of his office with German currency of the time.

Great Britain a paper Power? Yes, Oh, yes, it is true, by her innumerable treaties throughout the world England no doubt wields great influence, but not one of those treaties has Great Britain torn up like a scrap of paper—not one! (Applause) Great Britain a paper Power? Oh, she has tremendous authority and her last White Paper will stand forever as final judgment, condemning Hitler as a prevaricator of truth, as a repudiator of his solemn word, and as a bloody assassin of a peaceful, proud and valorous nation.

Great Britain disintegrating? Hitler has forgotten Jutland and Zeebrugge, but his memory is daily being refreshed.

France a dying country? That France could have survived after the last war and her awful bloodletting, and the destruction of her wealth, even to the very earth of her fields, is a miracle that Hitler could have seen re-enacted in many glorious pages of history, written not only with French blood, but often with German blood as well.

Hitler, who loves to revert to the Aryan birth of his race, should remember that 1500 years ago the first Hun invader of Europe was smashed in the north of France, and that he died shortly afterwards. Attila, like Hitler, was a ruthless tyrant, but unlike him, he was generous and kept his word.

Be that as it may, the German armies are on the march. What is their ultimate objective?

But a few weeks ago, in Paris, General Delattre de Tassigny, Chief of Staff of the French Superior Council of War stated to me that Hitler had taken up the old Bismarckian policy of the conquest of Great Britain and the partition of the British Empire.

I looked up a recent book on history, written by, without any doubt, the greatest historian living in France, Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux, a member of the French Academy. In his memoirs, published but a few months ago, he gives a recital of events which he had known personally. He said that Bismarck, in 1883, when Great Britain and France were at loggerheads over Egypt, pressed on Baron de Courcelles, the French Ambassador at Berlin, the project of the invasion of Great Britain, jointly by France and Germany, each nation furnishing one million men. De Freycinet, who was the Prime Minister of France at the time, steadfastly refused the advances and suggestions made by Bismarck, and he held fast to the rule and policy established firmly by his great predecessor, Gambetta, of close co-operation with Great Britain. That co-operation, adhered to by government after government in France has helped to consolidate the "Entente cordiale", created by the genius of Edward the VII, which in the last war saved Europe from Hun domination.

Hitler appealed to his people to rise to the vision of the Bismarckian Empire, but with his appetite whetted by his successes at home and abroad he widened that vision and soon called for "Lebensraum". An awful word, isn't it? "Lebensraum" means the space to live. What, in the Nazi mind, does a space to live mean? Again, I want to appeal to a man well-informed and, I believe, impartial so that we will ascertain what the objective of Hitler is. May I again quote Mr. Rauschning? Listen to this:

" 'Lebensraum',—the space required by a nation for living, is not, in Nazi terminology, the mere space sufficient for subsistence under a system of free exchange of goods. It means a domain sufficiently comprehensive to provide Germany with 'absolute' freedom of action. The limits of that domain expand automatically as the requirements of modern warfare expand. What would have been adequate in the year 1880 to make Germany self-sufficient and 'sovereign' had become wholly inadequate by the end of the World War. To become truly 'sovereign' under post-war conditions Germany must now expand the domain under her control eastward as far as the Caucasus and including the Ukraine, and westward as far as the open sea. She must have the oil of the Caucasus, the minerals of the Ukraine, and the grain of Hungary and Roumania; also she must have the steel of northern France, control of the shore line of Belgium, Holland and northern France, and the colonial domains at present belonging to those countries. In this policy the law of the minimum controls; for the soundness of the policy varies with that factor, not with the maximum.

"Such are the ideas of National Socialism. The fundamental thing which emerges is the impossibility that olive branches and concessions in this or that particular could ever serve any purpose. Either it is 'full sovereignty' for Germany, or it is nothing.

"Hitler's foreign policy therefore allowed him no freedom of choice. His particular aims all stood in a fixed and necessary relation to his comprehensive aim: 'Full sovereignty' for Germany as a 'world people'. Germany will be satisfied only when she controls a completely self-sufficient territory. In the perspective of that policy, all projects for a return to a purely economic organization of the world necessarily remained uninteresting. The dependence of parts of the world on the whole, and the interdependence of all the parts, are the very things which must be rectified, abolished, and this not on doctrinaire grounds but because of the plain requirements of practical politics. Thus there were but two alternatives: Germany's complete surrender, her renunciation of all hope of becoming a 'world people', or an uncompromising struggle to attain the complete goal. The goal can be attained only by German control over all Europe."

That is the creed preached in Germany by Hitler and a National Socialistic Party.

Well, it is hardly a pleasant perspective, but such as it is we have to face it.

Just a word in conclusion. What are we going to do? It is unwillingly that the Allies have been thrown into the war, but it is as free men that we determined to climb back from the dark abyss to the shining summit of victory and, beyond, to peace and happiness. It is as free men that we are going to fight against a nation enslaved, but it is also in unison of purpose and action that we shall fight. Let us all do our bit and not be tempted to criticize those in authority, and even our neighbour. Example is very much more effective than criticism, and, unless I am far from the mark, notwithstanding anything said to the contrary, there will be no dearth of young men of French and British descent who will be tied very closely to their Mother Country by the thin red line that marks their veins but springs from their hearts. There will be no dearth of men who will enter the struggle for the dignity of man, for the freedom of nations, for Christian liberty and fraternity. (Applause) There will be no dearth of men who will enter the crusade as Cardinal Verdier of Paris said so eloquently, for our civilization against the rising front of modern barbarism.

And, as we go to the battle field, shoulder to shoulder, with our mother countries, let us repeat, Oh, let us repeat the wonderful verses that I have now before my eyes, given to us by Henry Van Dyke:

"Give us a name to stir the blood
With a warmer glow and a swifter flood,
A name like the sound of trumpet clear,
And silver-sweet, and iron-strong,
That calls three million men to meet
The foes who threaten that name with wrong,
A name that rings like a battle song,
I give you France!"

Let us recite again the wonderful peroration of Lord Snowden's mighty oration in the British Parliament during the last war:

"All our past proclaims the future:
Shakespeare's voice and Nelson's hand,
Milton's faith and Wordsworth's trust
In this, our chosen and chainless land,
Bear us witness,
Come the world against her,
England yet shall stand."

(Applause—prolonged)

THE PRESIDENT: The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen has kindly consented on your behalf to extend our thanks and appreciation to Senator Beaubien.

RT. HONOURABLE ARTHUR MEIGHEN: Mr. President, Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: At this very tense and momentous juncture in the affairs of this troubled world, we have listened to an extraordinary exposition of the cause for which we stand from a very distinguished French-Canadian. It is a very sincere matter of gratification to me to find Senator Beaubien in our midst. Many years have rolled on since he and I first became associated in Canadian affairs, and while the President read a very lengthy and interesting catalogue of his accomplishments, his honours and his distinctions, and the services that he has rendered in exalted stations for his Dominion, I believe I could list some more, were I so disposed, but I say something about him of infinitely more consequence than anything that could be embraced in that literary title. I know him well enough to assure you that on all occasions in dark days as in sunshine, Senator Beaubien is a British citizen all the time, and a hundred per cent. British. (Applause) He knows the value of, he appraises the liberties that we enjoy as such citizens, and he also is ready to acknowledge and ready to satisfy the obligations which that citizenship implies.

We have heard Senator Beaubien outline the forces, the philosophy and picture, but briefly, the perils that we confront. He gave us at the end a definition of "lebensraum", the objective of Hitlerism at this hour. I give you a far briefer one, but it is true to the letter. "Lebensraum" is the right to live, means one thing and one thing only, it means a world in which Germans may live and others may not live.

I cannot sit down without saying one thing which I think of immediate consequence. We have in our country quite a varied population outside of our British and our French who appreciate the situation well. We have many from other lands and many who speak and speak almost only the German tongue. They are mostly in our western country. These are hearing almost daily, over short wave radio, expositions in their language, directed right from Germany, and those of us who have listened to the skilful artists of that land know how plausibly they can appeal to people in other countries. We haven't suffered these six years of gangsterism and perfidy without learning something as well. We cannot expect the natural attitude of that section of our population to be like our own. It is much easier to anticipate and prevent trouble than to deal with it if it comes. I think we should in this country see to it that radio expositions of the truth, formidably supported, go out in the German tongue, reaching not only the extremities of our own land, but of the country to the south as well. These people know something of Canada and what our life means. They are not entirely obstinate and closed to conviction.

I am here to thank Senator Beaubien. I have been grateful to him many a time in years gone by. I express the feeling uppermost in your minds when I say I welcome him to Toronto. You have heard things about Toronto in the Province of Quebec. Well, we never pay much attention in this city to satire and to fun. We rather enjoy it, but I can say this, having lived here thirteen years, there is no place in the Dominion where the French-Canadian is more welcome than right in the City of Toronto. This last winter some of the younger men from your province have come here, sought and obtained work, in order to learn our language and learn something about us. There is not one of them but will tell you he has been made abundantly welcome. We rejoice in the symptoms, the signs, the proofs of a brotherly feeling of confederation that abounds in the Province of Quebec, and there will be no place in the Dominion which will rise to such an altitude of delight as will the City of Toronto if in the near future Quebec vindicates itself again. (Applause)

In the name of Ontario, I thank you, Senator Beaubien. Come back, send your people. It does us good to hear from our brothers of the Province of Quebec. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me if I break in with a few remarks on the excellent speeches of both Senator Beaubien and Mr. Meighen, in his thanks to him. I would like at this time to extend on your behalf your appreciation of the distinguished guests at our head table, who are present today, and especially to Sir William Mulock who has come from his summer home to be present with us on this occasion.

Gentlemen, the meeting is adjourned.

"WHAT LIES AHEAD?"

AN ADDRESS BY SHERMAN ROGERS

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, October 12, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: We are fortunate in having with us today Mr. Sherman Rogers as our guest-speaker, who is here under the auspices of the American Foundation of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Rogers is not a stranger to Toronto. In 1925 he was here as President of the Optimist Club International, and as a guest of the Optimist Club of Toronto. Mr. Rogers has a background of platform work extending over a period of twenty years, during which time he has addressed audiences throughout the United States, totalling five millions. He has also been Associate Editor of *Outlook,* replacing Theodore Roosevelt in that particular position, and also of *Success,* and of *Liberty.* He left *Liberty* he states, when that magazine went crazy. His writings also appeared in *Saturday Evening Post, Red Book,* and *Farm Journal.* At present, Mr. Rogers is participating in an important weekly radio programme, entitled, "Wake up, America!" He has delivered many lectures on industrial problems in the United States and he is an expert in humanizing economics. He believes in dealing with radicalism; we should prove them wrong, or join with them. He believes in our democratic system as the one thing that establishes itself that is true.

I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Sherman Rogers, whose subject today is "What Lies Ahead?"—Mr. Rogers. (Applause)

MR. SHERMAN ROGERS: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I hope I don't step on your toes here this afternoon. If I do, I make no apology.

I want to digress a little from the remarks I intended to make. I know you people have embarked on a sea, bound for a port and that you may encounter many storms before you reach there. There may be some doubt for a while as to whether you are going to reach there without help. You realize, if that time does come, as it might come, and I know it is on the tip of everybody's tongue and in everybody's mind, what the people of the United States will do in that emergency. I don't like war any more than you do. I hope we can stay out of it—like I think you hoped six weeks ago—but if that time does come when the British Empire is in danger of disintegration, then there is no question what we will do, so long as blood is thicker than water. (Applause)

There is this difference: In 1914, west of the Mississippi River, our country was very strongly pro-German. The Central States had still a predominance of pro-Germanism. The New England States were pro-Ally, but there was no one who actually hated the Kaiser. Today, without the slightest doubt, ninety per cent of the American people are more bitter against Hitler, I think, than are the English people. Also, probably at this time, seventy-five per cent of our population have a most urgent desire to stay out of the war. I believe that you people can understand our position on that, but let me repeat there would be no hesitation of the people of our country if that time were to come, when you people needed the assistance of that country to survive. Of that let me assure you, and I travel all over the United States, all over the country all the time. On that point, there is no question.

The General here, being a diplomat, cannot say very much. I don't know whether he would back up what I say or not. I am quite sure he would, but from a standpoint of activity I wouldn't want you to compare him with me, because after all, he is a diplomat.

Gentlemen, this war affects us from another angle, and it brings us right down to the thing for which I have given the last thirty years of my life. I am interested only in one topic and one thing confronting the world, one big problem, and whether you live in England, in the United States, in Canada, or in Asia, that one problem stares you right straight in the face. You are going to find an answer to it, or you are going over. I mean radicalism is no joke. Either we will prove those babies wrong, or we will join them, and we won't have any choice in the matter at all. That is what I will do today, without any doubt. I will disprove all of their contentions.

Mussolini in 1935 made this statement: "Democracy is dead wrong, unfeasible, untenable; on one point, that no one can disagree with. In any democracy the national income each year is maldistributed. There is such an improper distribution of the income earned that a few stockholders get all the money and the great mass of labour get practically nothing, and that can only be changed by one plan, by the totalitarian idea, where one man has the power to say to an employer 'You can only make 2½ per cent interest, and that is all' and then see that labour gets a fair share of the income produced by industry."

Go back to the London *Daily Times,* in March, 1935, and you get that interview. Hitler backs that up entirely, that democracy cannot exist long because of the fact of the maldistribution of income. A few getting it all and the many getting nothing would finally end in absolute economic slavery for the masses. If that contention is true, you can call up your soldiers—what good will it do? That is the contention of the average radical, and there are no longer a few radicals, like there were when I started out. I heard the first I.W.W. speech delivered in the United States by W. D. Haywood, its originator, and that was the father of Communism in the United States. This man wasn't talking with his mouth full of marbles at all. He talked sense, from his angle. He made a definite statement which was never answered. Why, I cannot tell you. I still don't know why not one employer in ten thousand has the slightest idea of the line of division between the income that goes to the employee and the stockholders. If you had and if you put it up there would be no radicalism, because there couldn't be.

Get this one thing straight: all over the world, no matter where you go, radicalism is based on one contention only, that under all of the systems throughout the world, on private ownership and private property, the employee gets practically nothing, and the employer gets practically all of the income produced. Right now, twenty-five years ago, any time, it has been exactly the other way around. It can't be otherwise in a competitive country. It is the employee who gets practically all. It is the stockholder who gets practically nothing. I have to prove that which I will do—definitely.

I came into town this morning rather late. No one was up yet, but it was still late, as far as I was concerned. I got in the front of the hotel and started for the Manufacturers' Association. You probably know where that is. I didn't get there until noon. I checked eighteen people and asked each person what he thought the employee received from each dollar of income produced by the employers of Canada in the manufacturing industry. The first man I talked to said, "I would say about five cents". I said "Never mind 'about' five cents. If you are going out to change a country you must have some definite idea. What do they get? It is not definite." He said, "I would say five cents is as much as we get". I said, "You are as smart as most United States Senators, so it is still allright".

The next lady told me she was a barrister's wife. I didn't know what a barrister was for a little while. I found it is the same as our lawyers in our country. I put the question up and she said she was not quite familiar with the figures but she did know that labour got practically nothing. I said, "You are still up to par".

I talked to eighteen people and the highest up was one in a bank. He said he thought the employees got about thirty per cent. I said, "Who gets the other seventy per cent? Your manufacturer's income comes down to two points—the stockholders and the bondholders and labour. If labour only gets thirty per cent, and you are trying to tell me that in this country the stockholders and bondholders get seventy per cent of the income produced? I will drag out my money, what few cents I have, and invest it quick. This is a grand country." The banker saw that.

It is the most peculiar thing in the world. For thirty-five years radicals all over our country have talked. We have thirty thousand experts and in the last thirty-five years in the United States there hasn't been, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Manufacturers' Association, by the Republican Party or by the Democratic Party, a single man trained to defend the system of private enterprise. Never. But thirty thousand radicals have been highly trained to tear it down. You go ahead and fix that one up. I have been following the thing for thirty-five years. I have never heard an address on an American platform, I have never seen a book by an American business man, I have never heard an address by a college graduate or a professor in our country disprove the contention made by labour.

Listen, Gentlemen, you had better get an answer to it. I am not talking about something a few people believe. You walk down the street, take a hundred people, and not a single one of them are within sixty per cent of right on that question: "What do you think the employee gets of the income produced in industry?"

Whatever we may think of the United States Government, whatever our loyalty may be in party, Roosevelt did one thing for which we will have to build a monument to him, that will probably outshadow the Washington one. For the first time in all world history he produced a campaign and produced figures that will sustain the system of private enterprise—that will at least explain what it is and whether is it workable or not. It took three years to do it. The Department of Commerce undertook the research and for three years they worked on that survey. It appeared in 1936 and the astonishing thing is that right today, probably not a thousand business men in all America have seen that book. It is by far the most important document ever printed in the English language, outside of the Bible. In itself it has absolutely demolished every argument you ever heard of for radicalism. The book shows, of all the income produced by all the manufacturing industries of the United States, eighty-four cents of each dollar went to the employee. It showed that in the incorporated retail trade that from nintey to ninety-six cents of every dollar of income produced has gone to the employee. And that changed the mind of almost every one, it has changed the mind of practically everyone that has seen it. That book came out in November, 1936, and I was never so excited in my life, because it was the first definite answer to a Communist, the first definite answer to a Socialist, the first definite answer to the wild cranks of our society who always hate everything substantial. That is a strong statement—I mean it.

I find that there are a tremendous number of men in our colleges with these ideas. I have two boys who are nineteen and twenty. I am saving up money to send them to Harvard to study Economics. I have talked to a lot of the young professors down there and I am not sure I want them to go. I am not certain how many years it will take me to undo the damage they will get in their minds down there. I have talked to some very high professors in Harvard and I can assure you I have talked to them several hours on economics and there isn't a book on earth that can show anything they talked to me about. There isn't a scintilla of fact in the arguments put up to me. I am wondering if that prevails up here? We will find out for a fact.

Today we have a great many preachers in our country embracing the radical doctrines on this, from the standpoint of the theory that a few people get too much money, and if we get some system to even it out we would all be rich. Yet, if we took every income in the United States above $5,000, every single dime that comes in to anybody in the United States, above $5,000, each worker would get $1.50 a week more. That is all. If you give everything in the United States to the worker, he won't get the ten per cent increase in his wage, because industry in America has never made ten per cent. It has never made the half of it. The greatest year we ever had in America, the return on actual invested capital reached 4.90, and it ranges from 2.75 to 3.10. That is why the banker are so anxious to buy government bonds at two per cent. Did you ever see a banker put his money out at two per cent if he could get six? If capital makes so much money why can't they make six? Why can't they make forty, fifty, sixty?

Go down to the average man in the street, and on his judgment the British Empire rests, just as on his judgment the Constitution of the United States rests, and that man is fifty to seventy-five per cent wrong in his conclusion as to the division of what is earned in a country, do you call that a dangerous point? I should say so.

I talked to a Communist in Chicago not long ago. There were 277 in the group when I started in and there was not a Communist left when I had finished. And nobody left the room. It is the easiest thing on earth, because you put him out of business in two minutes. He won't talk any more and when a Communist can't talk you have got him.

All right, let me give the figures. You keep them in mind. United States Steel Corporation, from 1928 to 1938 had an income of $3,225,000,000. It paid out to the employee, $2,901,000,000. It had available for the stockholders, $324,000,000. What is the ratio? Almost 91 cents of each dollar went to the employee. All right. There is actual gold dollars invested in the U. S. Steel Corporation, $1,000,000,000. There has been many, many billions poured back since, in expansion. We will just ask for interest on the original billion. They should have made 5 per cent, certainly in any industrial investment. They didn't anyway. There was $324,000,000 to be disbursed to the stockholders over ten years. That was 3¾ per cent in the richest country in the world, the United States.

No, Gentlemen, I don't know of two industries in the whole of the United States that could increase wages seven per cent and not increase the price of goods, without finally going broke. They would just have to do it.

I delivered an address to the Metropolitan Club of New York last month and I made the 84 cents out of the dollar statement. An old gentleman in front of me was listening and when I put out that statement his eyes were getting bigger and bigger. Finally, I heard him explode to the fellow next to him, "My goodness, that fellow is wild. I still hope he can prove it!" He was opposite to me in the elevator going out and I said to him, "What firm do you belong to?" He said, "I am with Bridgeport Brass Company". I said, "How much do you give to the employee?" He said, "I don't know. I would say about thirty per cent." I said, "You haven't paid any dividends for several years—what do you do with the money?" He scratched his head a minute and said, "I will look it over". He called me up three or four days later. They paid out 94 cents of every dollar. They had a total income of $3,500,000, and they paid $3,039,000 to labour. The balance goes to the stockholders.

Westinghouse Electric—there was $670,000,000 available of which labour got $583,000,000, or 91 cents on each dollar.

Johns Manville was 91 cents on each dollar to labour. You can take them right across the counrty.

There was an old gentleman with whom I fought for seven days—that is pretty quick to reach the mind of some industrial capitalists. I did three hours of hard work every day and every time, just as I finished, he would say, "Sherman, where do taxes come in?" Taxes aren't income—they are outgo. Anyway, he went over his books—the Crucible Steel Company of America. His was 93 cents on each dollar. He just couldn't get over it. He can't get over it yet. Now, he is going to war. He didn't know it himself. I tell you, the average employer has not defended himself because he didn't have any line of demarcation. I can't find an employer in ten thousand who has.

When I started speaking on this subject when the government book came out, I had big industrialists coming to Detroit to listen, and for a solid hour not a man moved. After it was over every man knew it was a jubilee, if I could prove it. I didn't have to talk—I took their own books. One of the Macey men in New York questioned the figures very bitterly. He couldn't see them at all. I said, "You fellows haven't paid any dividends for four years. What are you doing with the money if the employees don't get it—who does?" They had paid 98 cents of each dollar.

Now, you get that story out to the public and you won't have any more trouble about radicalism. You say, "How are those figures arrived at?" The net income figures of one corporation and the gross income figures of all corporations are exactly the same in the percentage column.

Take the United States Steel Corporation—in income that is all of the money left after the expenses have been paid, after their steel has been purchased, their railway rates have been paid, all the money has been paid out, and the taxes paid. That is all the money that was left that was available for either worker or company. It is called income and labour got 90 cents of each dollar, and the stockholder of the company got the other 10 cents.

Now, you go and trace down all the money they spent for raw materials, and take the income sheet of each company in turn, right down to the basic point of the production of raw material and it will be exactly the same gross as net. That is why the United States Government book did not mention either net or gross in its compilation, because in the long run they are both the same.

Yet, go right down to the street—I have made 135 surveys throughout the United States, and it never changes. Always 17 per cent of the people you talk to think that labour gets less than a nickel out of each dollar, and they are not always dead Communists, but they are awfully close to it. You will also find that 60 per cent of the average men on the street say that labour doesn't get over 10 to 15 cents, and 75 per cent say that they don't get 20 cents, and there are never over one or two per cent who think it is as high as 30 cents.

The greatest delusion in the world is that misconception, nationally and internationally, regarding the distribution of income produced in any democratic country.

Gentlemen, I went into business. I earned some money when I first came east. As a matter of fact, it came very easily and before I knew what it was all about I was making thousands where I had made dollars before, from the platform and with the pen. So I went into the manufacturing business. I made up my mind I was making money too slowly. $40,000 a year—what did that amount to? All I had to do was go into business and make real money. I bought a business and I paid a lot of money for it. A college professor, a friend of mine, out west secured the investment for me. I knew that he, with his great knowledge of figures and facts, would protect me. He did. It guaranteed 17 per cent return. Pretty good! Maybe it had given that return some time, but not after I got it. I left in the same President and the same Management, from top to bottom. I had only owned it six months when I found I had to change all the machinery because we needed to make changes. Lock-bar welding pipe was no longer any good and all the machinery I bought had to be replaced. I hadn't thought of that. I learned about it. I kept going, but I found out what I did and I did it for seven years. I went on the platform to make money to make up for the losses in my factory, because I had learned another funny thing, that the professor never thought about. There were seven competitors in the town in which I operated my factory. Every time I made a bid, if you don't think those other fellows were busy birds, they were. They were right after me every minute. It got so I couldn't take a contract and make a dime. So I operated five years at a loss, the same as the rest of them did.

Then one morning I told the sheriff I wouldn't fight any longer about it and I let him take it. I learned a lot more than any college professor ever learned about business. In those six or seven years I learned there was a lot of difference between the lead pencils and paper in college and the cinders and grease you got down in a factory, and that meeting a payroll is no joke.

Gentlemen, don't blame the college professor. It wouldn't be possible for him to know because nobody knows anything about labour unless they have put on overalls and worked with them, sweat with them, went hungry with them, rode in box cars with them. I have done that. I did it for seventeen years. I don't worry about labour. Put them right up here (the head), I have worked with them all over the countries of the world, I have worked with them in Manchuria, a year, in Alaska, in Chili, I have worked with them in Mexico, in the mines and in the timber. I have worked in the lumber camps of British Columbia and I have worked with them in the mines of Montana, and on the west coast. I used to ramble because I loved new places, new experiences and new people. I never worked with a bad man in my life. I have worked with men who have gone wrong up here. I hadn't seen a church or a Bible until I was nineteen years old. I was brought up in Idaho, where there were neither churches nor schools. I want to tell you the people I have mixed with all over the world have convinced me that the greatest thing ever produced is man. I have watched him. On every shipboard they have to risk their necks for total strangers. I have never seen a man turn it down. Every day in the logging camps they have to risk their lives for total strangers, and I have never seen one go yellow. I have seen them pay, too, when they have showed someone around. I have never yet seen a man turn yellow in that pinch, and believe me, Gentlemen, they will give their lives for a total stranger. What can you not do with him if you reach him down here first? That is all you have to do. Take that now from Sherman.

The employer has probably had more gray hairs, more problems in the last ten years than the individual of any other group of people on earth. He has suffered a great deal, and whether we put our people back to work or whether we do not depends entirely on whether he gets back to the position where he is safe, but your public doesn't know that. As long as the public doesn't know that, they are going to fight this man. You can't expect labour to sit on one side of the table and meet in a fair and friendly fashion the employer on the other side of the table, when he believes his employer is an absolute thief. That is what he thinks, that he has been stealing his money ever since he went into business. Just as long as that feeling prevails you are never going to have tranquillity in industry on either side of the line. You just can't have it, and the time has come when we have to put our cards on the table and you have such wonderful figures to show that I don't know why you try to hide them.

A fellow the other day was talking about a company having four million dollars in the bank. I said, "They are pretty nearly broke if they haven't". Let us see what it amounts to. It was a steel corporation in Pittsburg, and it had $4,500,000. I said, "Supposing you had part of that money—let us figure it out. The United States Steel Corporation in 1938 paid $282,000,000 to the employees of that company, to labour. It paid $4,500,000 to stockholders. There were 202,000 employees, and 260,000 stockholders. Yet, the money looked big, but it had to cover an operation of 202,000 men, and it had to cover an investment back of 260,000 men. It really was nothing. That company couldn't have paid a five per cent increase in wages without increasing the price of its goods or going broke—one or the other. Yet, not one man in ten thousand realizes that business works on that close a margin. Yet, you can bring down figures to prove it that any school child could look at and understand. I am talking of the public schools in the United States. There is not one who couldn't understand the picture as soon as you are through.

Gentlemen, that is the fact, and it changes opinions. I might say this to you. For years people thought the world was flat. Then a man went around the world and he found that it wasn't flat and the whole world changed its opinion. Since that delusion, I think the biggest one is this delusion regarding the distribution of national income. It is what Mussolini bases his hatred of democracy on; it is what Hitler bases his hatred of democracy on, and it is what Stalin bases his hatred of democracy on. It is what all the parlour cranks in Canada and the United States base it on, and it won't hold water two seconds. You have to have figures in your pocket to disprove every bit of it.

Gentlemen, I want to say this to you: Get busy on that one score. There are only a couple of democracies left. I always like to get under the British flag, because under the British flag a man is free to go where he likes, he is free to do anything he likes, or he is free to do nothing, so long as he is honest. There are only two countries in the world where you can do that. There is no other system under which a man can ever be free, except under the system of private enterprise. Nothing elese can ever grant freedom, because if you ditch that, what do you get? Let us be fair. There might be some radical in here. If there is, I am talking to you. Whenever the Government becomes responsible for your living and must take care of you, they also must have absolute direction over your actions and activities. There isn't any law on earth can ever change that status. But so long as you have private enterprise you pay your debts and you earn your way. There isn't a thing on earth can tell you anything, any time, anywhere in peace time.

I have lived in Canada about four years of my life. I came across up in British Columbia one morning, and went back there. A fellow asked who I was, where I was going. I went up into British Columbia, and that is the last time any officer of this country ever talked to me, or cared two cents where I was. When I went across the line I had more trouble getting back into the States than I had getting into Canada.

I find the same thing in America, where I have lived all these years. When I travel anywhere else—in South America, in Asia, in Europe—yes, Sir, the Government is taking an interest in me, somehow or other every second and I don't like it. A lot of people say, "Let us make it more so. Let us get to the point where we owe our existence to the government and where the government must take on the responsibility of seeing that we get three square meals a day and will take care of us."

That is okay—go ahead and do it. But, Gentlemen, I will tell you and it is what I tell my own son. My son came up the other day when he had a swell idea of what he was going to do. I said, "Sonny, as long as I pay the bills, I tell you what to do. When you make your own, that is the last I have to say to you. You do as you please." He never thought of that. I said "Sonny, you make your way, you make your own money, and I have no right to talk to you. I don't care how old you are, but so long as I pay your way, I don't care if you are forty years old, I am going to tell you exactly what to do all the time."

Gentlemen, I hope I never see the day, when the government is in a position to tell me what I have to do—even when I ring my alarm clock, because I am fussy about that, and the only way you can keep what you have is to maintain that system in the British Empire and in the United States that has been proven to give everybody the finest show and the highest standard of living ever known to civilized man, and he is free while he is getting it, and that is worth all the assets you get going through life.

I addressed Sing Sing Prison not long ago. Those fellows are much more free than anybody is in Germany or Russia. They can condemn the President of the United States, and they do down there, and they can talk bitterly about the Governor of the State. They do that too. They can't do a thing about it. They are perfectly free—it is their constitutional right. But if a man says the same thing in Italy, or Germany, or Russia, then he is dead—and after you are dead it doesn't make much diference what you say.

Now, I can't figure out the working of any man's mind if he is saying he wants that situation. Krivitsky gave a few statements in the Senate yesterday. There was nothing surprising about them. Stalin didn't like the way a lot of army officers were behaving so he took 35,000 of them and stood them against the wall and shot them. Not many men—just 35,000. He took Generals from the army, Captains and Lieutenants, and they didn't argue about trial. He just stood them against the wall and shot them—and he should have that right so long as each individual Russian says, "I want three meals a day, Mr. Stalin, you give it to me. You are responsible for my three meals a day, give them to me," and if Stalin is loaded down with responsibility, then Stalin should have the absolute control of the actions of anyone that gets his living that way. There is no argument about that for one second.

And they say Mr. Hitler has also liquidated several people—I don't suppose as many as Stalin. He hasn't been dictator long enough. Stalin has had more experience. Hitler will get the general idea later, and probably he will purge more than he has. He will have to, if he stays in there.

Mussolini is the only man who has got along so far. He is very smart, of course. But he has his African possessions, and whenever a man gets a bit difficult he can send him off to Africa, like he did Balbo, and so on. It is quite easily done.

Leaving out all that, if this great system is going to continue, the system of open competition, the system that gives everybody exactly the same chance starting out in life, the system that lets a man utilize to the very utmost the power of his brain every minute, the system in which he can reap the product of that effort, we must realize that the men who live under that system are only going to live under it if they will remember one thing, that eternal vigilence is the price of liberty.

You were born without clothes, but you weren't born without responsibility. I say to you people, as employers, you people who are supposed to direct have a double responsibility. Personally, I am very, very favourable to organized labour, very, very favourable to all types of labour. I have lived with them nearly all my life. I would like to finish with them, and I say this to all of you: You put your cards on the table so labour knows where you stand, and they will make any sacrifice with you at any time to keep your plant going, so long as they know what these figures are.

I guarantee that labour will treat you as fair as a Sunday School teacher. (And I am not saying that to you, Mr. Massey.) They will treat you fairly, just as soon as you treat them that way. Put your cards on the table. We have nothing more in business to hide. Without any question we all realize today that the same slice of bread is buttered with the same knife, whether it goes to the stockholder upstairs, or whether it goes to the worker down in the plant. Shouldn't we look out not to have cinders on the butter knife for either one of us?

No, I will back my stand on the fairness of labour if you put your cards on the table with labour. But, Gentlemen, with all my experience with labour in every port, I have come to this conclusion: You can lead any good man right down through the fires of hate, but you can't drive him across the sidewalk. We have got to stop trying to drive men, and we have got to begin to lead men, and I want to leave you with five little axioms. I want you to take them. I figured them out after I heard Bill Haywood speak first. He made a tremendous impression on me and for eleven years I believed what he said. When I wrote my first series in *Saturday Evening Post,* Horace Lorimer said I led an I.W.W. strike. I never was an I.W.W. During eleven years, I was far too radical to ever belong to any tame gang like that.

Bill Haywood said that labour got less than ten cents on every dollar. Where the labourer got the ten cents, the boss got the other ninety. Bill wanted to wait, to fold his arms, and paralyze industry. I wanted to hang the employer.

Years later I heard Charlie Schwab make his first speech. It was the first time I ever heard any opposition to any of the wild charges made by thousands of radical speakers. It was the first time a man had come out and given us a chance to know the facts. He broke down his company to show that had he paid 57 cents a day more than he did, he would have gone broke.

I went over and asked for the books of another company. It had been in operation twenty-one years and employed 15,000 people. I went to the boss, whom I had never seen before, and I said, "I want to ask you a question. I get pretty close to $5.00 a day. How much do you think you make off my day? How much net do you make? Figure out the net profit you make from that day's labour." I was in the army then. I said, "I want you to figure it out." He said, "It will cost a couple of thousand dollars." I said, "Your strike is costing you $25,000 a day—you'd better find out." He put his accountant to work, and one day he came to me all excited, and said, "Come up right now". I said, "Listen, I am in the army. You have to go through Camp Lewis to get me out." It took three hours. I went into his office and he was walking up and down like a Felix Cat. He said ,"I am flabbergasted". I had never heard that word before and I asked him what it meant. "You never heard that? Don't you use those words in the woods?" I said, "That is a new one—yes, we use words in the woods." He said, "What I am excited about is this: I find, going over my books, and figuring the money we paid out to the employees, and that was paid to the stockholders, and that was put back in the business, had we paid 23½ cents per day more to the employee than we did pay, there would not have been one dime for the stockholders or bondholders in this company in its entire history. It would never have stood an advance of five per cent unless we had raised the price of goods. I always thought I was a great business man. Here I have been skirting along on the ragged edge of bankruptcy all the time."

I said, "That is the condition of all American industry, only you don't know it. It is the first time you have ever figured it out that way." He said, "It certainly is. I never thought of working it out that way."

You will find that all over the country. I want you to figure five little points. First, the C.P.R. and sun time. I was out in British Columbia and there was a man there who had come out from Britain. He had sun time. A fellow came along and asked what time it was. "By the sun, the regular time, it is twelve oclock. By C.P.R. time, it is one o'clock." He said, "Listen, every time I turn around it is C.P.R. this, and C.P.R. that. The C.P.R. owns the hotels, the C.P.R. owns the railways. I get out of the city and the C.P.R. owns the land. I get out on the ocean and the C.P.R. owns the ships. Now they want to control the sun."

There are three sides to every question. Be sure you get that in your mind. We are none of us going anywhere. There are three sides to every question and if you look for the right side you will never find it. You never have any controversy, but there is your side, the other fellow's side, and the right side, and neither man in any argument is ever a hundred per cent right. If both are looking for where they are both wrong, both will find what is right.

Ninety-nine per cent of the people want to be secure. Of that there is no doubt. If you believe the slightest in God Almighty, you have got to accept that. No man or woman who lived yesterday, no man or woman who lives today, or no man or woman who will live tomorrow is big enough to hate and reason at the same time. It can't be done, so for Heaven's sake, don't let us hate any more. No individual can possibly ever get anywhere unless he has the respect of the people he associates with. He can't command it, he can't enforce it. There is only one way to get it. He must inspire it and to inspire it, he first earns it.

And, lastly, tolerance—the greatest word in the English dictionary. A man may be dense or ignorant, but if he is tolerant he will find the answer to any problem. An intolerant man, with the scales of prejudice over his eyes, wouldn't know the right answer if he saw it.

So, rules of that kind must govern business contacts, and especially business contact between business and labour, and between government and public, from now one. If they do, we will have but very little trouble preserving democracy.

I hope when I come back that a lot of the clouds around your country will be dispelled. Now, I want just three minutes to finish. Don't worry about the air. You say it is pretty hard to sell these things to people. People don't want to believe them. I went to Woodrow Wilson in 1922. He wasn't President then, he was paralyzed in his little home. I went to Mr. Wilson and asked him if he would give me a story, as the new Editor of *Outlook*. I wanted to know what was the most difficult time in his career. He said, "The few weeks or months after war was declared, when we found in the Puget Sound there were a hundred thousand I.W.W.'s. That hundred thousand men had sworn to obstruct that war. They would obstruct the draft, they would see that no aeroplane timber was produced, they would stop shipments of lumber, they were certainly going to sit on the port and see that nothing was shipped. It scared me to death. Fnally, one morning, I got a telephone call from the Governor of Washington. He said, 'There is only one thing to do. Put five thousand soldiers up there, grab those people and put them in concentration camps until the war is over'. I knew we couldn't afford a revolution—it would bring more satisfaction to the Kaiser than happiness to us."

Then Wilson remembered one woman whom he had heard make a speech in a vaudeville theatre in New York. He called the *Variety* Magazine and asked if she were still on the stage. Yes, she was playing the Orpheum Circuit in Seattle right now.

Woodrow Wilson said, "I thought the hand of God was pointing my way. She was in the very town where I wanted her to be. At eight o'clock, Washington time, I called up and got her on the telephone. I told her of the dilemma, and that I either had to send soldiers and start a toy revolution or prove something I wanted to prove all my life—that you can reason with people if you meet them, and right here I think the argument is ours. I want you to go out on all the street corners in Seattle and I want you to talk and reach the hearts and minds of those men—will you do it?" She said, "I will do it, Mr. President."

I said, "Will you stop right there? I would like to finish the story for you." He said, "Can you?" I said, "Absolutely—right from there."

The next day after he speaks of I came to Seattle. I came down with two big I.W.W. Swedes—lumberjacks. Anderson weighed 240 pounds, and stood 6′ 4″ in his socks. I went into a saloon one night. I never took a drink in my life, but I went in to get several of my boys out of there. The boys still had some money. When I went in half a dozen of the bounders came up, and they included me. About that time I had no friend in there, but I saw somebody coming my way, and every time, three or four men went down and stayed down. I could hammer them down but they got right back up again. After it was all over and we got outside, I said, "What's your name?" He said, "Army Anderson". I said, "I am going to work pretty close to you—on general principles."

We were coming up the street, and we saw all the big I.W.W. buttons, about four inches across, almost like the Landis buttons in 1936 in the States. I said, "I hear the voice of a woman. This isn't Salvation Army night." We walked for a few more feet. I said again, "I hear a woman." He said, "So it is."

We got to the corner and turned around and here was a place roped off between the streets, and there was a 1916 Packard automobile in the centre of the group of three or four thousand people who were crowded around the automobile, from one end of the street to the other. You remember the 1916 Packards—they were about two feet lower than the Eiffel Tower. There was a woman, a big woman standing in this Packard, explaining the development of the United States, the development of the country, and the sacrifice it took, and I want to tell you, I thought I knew the United States history backwards, but that lady was putting out something there—she didn't embellish anything, she didn't draw any coloured pictures, but that woman was telling a story that everybody could understand, and with every ounce of her power she was putting it out.

There we stood, all of us absolutely petrified. I can still feel goose pimples running up and down my back like they did that afternoon. It came to 34 minutes. In 34 minutes the lady stopped. She had certainly sold those men. There was no doubt they were 90 per cent I.W.W. Every man was dead against the government, every man was dead against war, every man was dead against the whole system of private enterprise, and every man was dead against the system that built this country. In 34 minutes she started to change that. She appealled to this top part of man. Then suddenly, I saw her stop. I saw the little white line around her throat, it was as white as a sheet, and red above and red below. I didn't know what it meant then, but I do now. I saw that tremendous woman reach down there into the hearts and souls of every man there. In about two minutes she had awakened every ounce of decency in a man's body, and had him up where he could see himself, as he should be, and could be any time he wanted to be. I stood out and watched these tough lumberjacks who only knew hate for ten years, and I watched big red bandanas come out. I saw the furrows on the weather-beaten faces begin to soften up. I realized that that woman had touched a part of those men that nobody had known since they left the knees of their mothers. She still was not giving any hot air, she still was not painting rainbows. She was talking sense, and she wanted those workers to know that she had faith in the same God who made both of them and she let them know she was banking on them with all the faith of someone that had been given faith by the great Creator. I watched that great pulsating heart appeal to the best there was in any man, anywhere and any time. As she finished, I watched 3,000 people go wild. They almost tore the streets up. I saw them make a mad rush for her car. Two or three big Swedes grabbed her out of the car, made a seat for her, and walked up Second Avenue to the hotel. She was the most popular woman on earth to those men who for the first time, probably, since they had left home, had listened to any real, genuine, motherly, honest-to-God sympathy from somebody else.

The war was over and I was walking back on Broadway, trying to find the Capitol Theatre. At 12.01 my train left for Seattle. I walked past 34th Street, and as we walked past I saw on the large marquee the name of a woman. I rushed across the street and rushed in. The curtain was going down for the eleventh time. She couldn't come out any more. I rushed to the stage entrance, put my name on a little slip of paper and asked the attendant to give it to her. He said, "She is a famous woman. She won't talk to a private." I said, "Beat it. Give her this." I wrote on this slip of paper, "Mother you got us in the army. We have had a lot of experience that was worth a lot to us. I am going back home tonight. I would like to see you." He gave it to her. About a second, and bang, open went the door. A woman came rushing out and I happened to be standing in front. Around my neck went her two big arms, and that is the only person in this world that I have ever seen or known of whom I stood in awe. I knew I was in the arms of a woman who was the biggest woman that ever lived. I nearly dropped on my knees to her. She had pointed out the way for a government to act, for business men to act, for all people to act. That woman had lighted a beacon that has never gone out, I have tried to carry that beacon since. Gentlemen, the woman, you all know—Marie Dressler, the motion pcture actress. I would give more for one dozen of her laughs today than all the other forces I know of in any country. She is not here.

Gentlemen, being in a democratic country, where you people run your own ship, where everybody has that divine right to get out and help create his own niche, and help his own government and his own people, and where he is part and parcel of everything that hapens around him, the big job is this: If every one of you, from right now on, all the time, will let the best you have got two and a half inches under here (the heart) appeal to the least best you have got up here (the head) we will get out from under the dark gloom that is facing us now, and we will get our feet back on more solid ground than we have ever had before, and, Gentlemen, this will be the kind of country that God Almighty intended it should be in the first place.

I thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: I am sure we appreciate this very excellent address of Mr. Sherman Rogers' and we now realize the reasons for the many tributes that were paid by the press to his dynamic and forceful presentations of his subject. He stated, on starting his address, that he was digressing somewhat, but nevertheless, he has dealt with the basic problems and those fundamentals which enter into the subject that he gave at the Kiwanis International at Boston, and he has no doubt dealt with them with equal force today.

Mr. Rogers believes in giving the facts, in order to deal with that particular subject which he has at heart. He has stated that he has discussed the matter with Mussolini. He has also discussed the basic economic facts of Hitler's policy, and they haven't changed one iota his views on democracy. He has demonstrated that he is for democracy, and that he is an opponent of radicalism, by dealing with its basic facts and economics.

I am sure we have all listened with a great deal of pleasure to what he has said today. Dale Carnegie has quoted Emerson in speaking of Mr. Rogers—"The secret of his success is the triumph of enthusiasm", and certainly Mr. Rogers has demonstrated this today. I extend to him on your behalf, a hearty vote of thanks and appreciation for this excellent talk today. The meeting is adjourned.

"THE BRITISH COUNCIL"

AN ADDRESS BY MR. MAURICE COLBOURNE

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Tuesday, October 17, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: We are highly honoured today to have the ladies grace us with their presence. We take much pleasure in welcoming them on this occasion, and especially in view of our guest-speaker, whose achievements in drama and art on the stage are well known to our guests.

Our members will have noted from their announcement cards that with the ladies present, they are to govern themselves accordingly. Evidently this is a warning that we have to watch our step on this occasion!

Mr. Maurice Colbourne is well known to Canadian audiences through his excellent performances in the artistic field, and his frequent presentations in our theatres from time to time, which have endeared him to his Canadian audiences. He has had a distinguished career in dramatics, having been the first post-war President of the Oxford University Dramatic Society, and Governor of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, and subsequently he achieved fame as Author, Playwright and Actor-Manager. His present visit to Canada, in company with Mr. Barry Jones, is sponsored by the British Council, a group of distinguished Empire personalities under the Patronage of His Majesty the King, and including John Masefield, Philip Guedella, the Earl of Bessborough and others, which Council is the subject of his address today. I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Maurice Colbourne. (Applause)

MR. MAURICE COLBOURNE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The first question which one asks is: What is the British Council? But, before trying to answer that question, I hope, with some brevity, I must just say that my first impression on returning to Canada after five and a half years, and also the impression of my partner in crime, Barry Jones, who regrets very much he is not here today, is that although it is five years since we were here, all our friends, quite literally, to our eyes, appear just about five years younger.

The British Council comprises about a hundred people of different and distinguished positions, such as the three which the Chairman has mentioned. It is very little known in England, just as it is very little known elsewhere, because it is known not by what it is but by what it does. It is known by its works. You could put the work of the British Council, which is as yet in its youth—it is only about four years old—in many ways. I think it came into being because various other bodies, such as the Diplomatic Corps, the Board of Education, the Foreign Office, and so forth, including of course the Dominions Office, found they had quite enough to do and they wanted a kind of liaison department or office, which would deal with those activities which are completely divorced from trade and politics.

I would like to put the matter in another way, chiefly, I think, because as far as I remember, nobody has put it this way before. Let us go back some hundreds of years, to what are optimistically called "the good old days"; say, the days of good Queen Bess. In those days in England and in similar days of the Italian Renaissance in Italy, I think we would have found that all culture and art, and all those things which we believe make life worth living, were not only encouraged, but generally actually brought into being by patronage. The Earl of So-and-So would have as his own property his troop or company of players. Benvenuto Cellini would not have done the work he did had it not been under the patronage of, I think it was, Pope Clement VII. Van Dyke would not have painted the pictures he did, but might have ended as a poor man living at Blackfriars on the Thames, in what was the equivalent of a slum, unless he had been commissioned by Charles the First; just as Rubens was commissioned by the King of Spain. In short, "noblesse", in those days, did "oblige".

What has happened to that nobility since those days?

One thing quite surely has happened. It is still there and the nobility is still noble, but it is not so rich; and it seems to me to be true, and not without its element of a wry humour, to realize that the body of government, which over those two or three hundred years has been responsible for taking so much money from the nobility through taxation, should, through the British Council, itself, become and take the place of the patrons of old. Therefore, I believe it is quite true to say that today when rich men and great nobles are comparatively fewer and poorer, the British Council is the body which has stepped in and said to itself, no doubt unconsciously, "As there is no longer any such profusion of wealthy patrons of the old nobility, we must see to it that art and culture none the less still flourish in the world." The British is thus a patron of the arts.

The second point I would like to make is this: What does the British Council aim to do with the culture which it encourages? Here, again, I must put in parenthesis that the British Council imitates the wealthy patrons of old, for, it not only encourages works of art but calls them into being. I will give a concrete instance. It was under the direction of the British Council that three British composers, Sir Arnold Bax, Mr. Arthur Bliss, and Mr. William Walton, composed works for the present, or immediately past, New York World Fair.

To go back to my second point, on which I had just started, what does the British Council intend to do with these works? It intends to exchange them with the works of the other peoples of the world. It has sent, therefore, orchestras and dramatic companies to such countries as Egypt, such islands as Malta, and to such peoples as the Greeks and the Italians, and, naturally, Barry Jones and I feel very proud that ours is the first company to be sent to the senior British Dominion, and we hope that this is the beginning of a tour of the whole British Empire.

(Applause)

One asks, why does the British Council pick the theatre, very largely, to do this part of its work with? I think the answer must be that the theatre is perhaps the only medium by which you can combine an exchange of art with an exchange of human beings. Perhaps I shall make myself clearer if I say if you have an English painter he will paint his picture in London, say, and he may send it, perhaps through the British Council, to be hung in the City Hall of Toronto, but he will not necessarily come to Toronto himself, and if he does come, he will not be here very long. But with the theatre you get a direct contact between its people and the people whom it is visiting and that, I believe, is why the British Council sends to Denmark, not a painter or his work, or a sculptor or his work, but a large company of actors, so that that clash, that happy clash of personalities shall be effected between people who otherwise would be strangers, and so, through increased understanding, make toward peace among the peoples of the world.

I believe that we ought to distinguish between the people of England and, say, Denmark, on the one hand, and the people of England and, say, Canada, on the other. Let us say that the people of England and Denmark are cousins. Then the people of England and Canada and the rest of the Dominions are brothers, and it is this exchange of brothers, which the British Council has been kind enough and wise enough to effect. The idea of brothers prompts that of a common sire, a common father, and this at once puts us in mind of the Royal visit of Their Majesties to Canada, in regard to which may I just say this, as coming from an English member of the great family, speaking to Canadian members of the same family, that we felt in England that the triumph of Their Majesties in Canada was equally a triumph for Canada. (Applause)

I believe that this Club has a special guardianship for such ideas as these. I, personally, believe that Kingship is a sacrament, because we define a sacrament as an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, and I believe that whatever spiritual grace there may be about what we call the British Commonwealth of Nations finds its outward sign in the person of the King upon the common throne of England and Canada. (Applause) The second thing that struck us about the Royal visit (the first thing being the love of Canada for the Crown) was the good will of the United States of America.

Well, now, I am told you will be interested in what I may have to say, just as a very ordinary member of the English public, about the state of England since war broke out. We all know how all the brothers of this great family have lately had to assume the postures and the responsibilities of bulldogs of the British breed, and I believe it is quite simple to state the present general public opinion of England in regard to the man who has been smash-and-grab raiding for so long among us that we have become tired of his smash-and-grab raiding and are determined to catch him and prevent him from carrying on. I believe that this family of bulldogs is just going on (and this according to public opinion in England) until however fast the smash-and-grab raider may run down the street in his effort either to smash and grab another shop, or to escape around the corner from the consequences of his last smash-and-grab, they—the bulldogs—are able to leap up and catch and hold on to the seat of that man's pants. And I do not believe that they will leave their grip on those pants when the smash-and-grab raider cries "Ouch! I promise not to do it again." They will go on not until he says, "Ouch! I will quit," but until they have seen that those three words are made effective.

I think the bulldog breed can be exemplified by a story that my housekeeper heard the first day that war was declared, when, about a quarter of an hour later, the sirens began to sound and the housekeeper, who was not in the house at the time, went into a public air raid shelter. There were many strangers there, and as the minutes turned into half hours and finally hours, they all became acquainted, and one woman retailed the following story.

She said she had been in Germany until about ten days before war was declared. She had lived there for many years because she was a singer and she made her living there, but she was not a German. She was on a street car one day, reading an English book, and in came a Storm Trooper, who looked up and down the car and went over to see what book she was reading. He grabbed it and threw it on the ground and said, "You ought to know better than that. Don't you know a good German Frau doesn't read that filth?" and the woman said, "I shall report you to the British Consul. I am not a German Frau, I am a South African, I am a Britisher. I shall not only report you to the British Consul, but I shall now ask you to pick that book up." Meanwhile, the rest of the car's occupants were frozen into silence by suspense and fear. The Storm Trooper went very red, feeling the hostility around him, and sheepishly he picked up the book and handed it to her. She said, "Now wipe it off before you give it back to me."

Some people have asked me privately what England at this moment thinks of Canada and of what Canada has done, is doing and is going to do. Ladies and Gentlemen, any answer I might make might seem so impertinent and small that I counter by another question: Would the British Empire have chosen Canada to be the base and centre and training ground for the most important arm in this new war, if all parts of that Empire did not feel pride and confidence in the way Canada has assumed her giant responsibilities in the last few months? We all felt in the early days of the war, and until I left England, that there was a calm determination about the Canadian affirmations which reached the other side, regarding her participation with the rest of the bulldogs in the chase after the smash-and-grab man.

I imagine that here, like in the Old Country, there is no anger. I believe we all somehow feel that the case of Hitler is as much a medical case as a criminal one, and I believe that it would take much of the gilt of glory and martyrdom off the gingerbread of war and off the militaristic ideals so beloved by old world conquerors if we could deprive Hitler of the comparative glory of a trial or a St. Helena, and put him quietly into the private and, perhaps, padded ward of a hospital. If an operation were deemed to be necessary after he had been examined by specialists for the symptoms of a paranoic, I believe the best operation in Hitler's case would be a slight one on his tongue. It has been said that the power of the pen is mightier than that of the sword. Much more powerful than either, in Hitler's case, is the power of the tongue, because I defy anyone to preserve his sanity and to have read Hitler's book in its unabridged version from cover to cover.

As for the theatre, we had a photograph taken at Euston Station before leaving, and the press photographer asked, "What caption would you like put on these for the papers?" We had been rather busy, we had been ready to sail for over three weeks at twenty-four hours' notice, any day. We had to think a little and finally we said, "We will give you two. One is what you will call, perhaps, highbrow, and the other is what you might call lowbrow, but they are both true. One is 'British Actors in British Plays for the British Empire', and the other, 'Are they Lucky? Yes, and They Know It'."

Thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. Hector Charlesworth has kindly agreed to extend on your behalf, our appreciation and thanks.

MR. HECTOR CHARLESWORTH: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Colbourne, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure we have all listened with a great deal of interest to Maurice's remarks. It is not the first time he has spoken to this Club and he is always interesting, he always throws new light on something.

I have had the good fortune to have known both Maurice and his partner, Barry Jones, ever since they came to Canada, ten or twelve years ago, and invariably they have left behind them pleasant memories.

He was speaking a moment or so ago of the experiences of his housekeeper. I heard a story of a lady in a similar predicament. The bells were ringing and they were rushing to the air shelters and one old lady said, "Dear, dear, that man Hitler must be quite a fidget." Now, I think probably Maurice last week was quite a fidget in those long, dreary days on the ocean, wondering whether he was going to reach Toronto by October 16th.

During the last few years, since Maurice went into management for himself and decided to make Canada in part the field of his endeavours, he was presented in this country, not merely in Toronto, but throughout the length and breadth of this country, at least ten plays, if not more, and all of them have been good plays. Last night he received a very warm welcome in Toronto. It is comforting to think that in any other city of Canada he would receive the same welcome, because the name of Maurice Colbourne and the name of Barry Jones are guarantees of something of intellectual interest. Maurice has, after giving us many plays by George Bernard Shaw, and a play or two by Robert Sherwood, come to us with a play of his own, of which he has been too modest to speak. That play, "Charles, the King", was a great success in London, with Barry Jones acting Charles three years ago, and last night when I saw it, I was absolutely delighted, and also amazed at the amount of accurate history which he has managed to put into two hours of acting time, at the same time with the sense of the theatre which kept us continuously interested in what was a most fascinating historical discourse of one of the most ill-fated of our English monarchs. It is a play that is filled with food for thought and well up to the standard of the plays he has presented in the past.

As I have said, he always leaves us in his debt, and I think I voice the feelings of every one who has listened to him, in moving a most cordial vote of thanks. Thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. Charlesworth. To you, Mr. Maurice Colbourne, we extend on behalf of the Empire Club our hearty vote of thanks.

"THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY TO INDUSTRY'S LABOUR RELATIONS"

AN ADDRESS BY ROY W. MOORE

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, October 19, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we are fortunate in having with us as our guest-speaker, Mr. Roy Moore, the President of Canada Dry Ginger Ale Company, Incorporated, of New York. Mr. Moore is a high Executive who has taken a keen interest in labour matters from the viewpoint, probably, of the lawyer, because he was a lawyer before he became a Business Executive. He is a graduate of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and a post graduate of Cornell, in 1911, and of Harvard Law School in 1915. Subsequently, Mr. Moore practised law in Georgia, where he also served for ten years as the State's Prosecuting Attorney. In 1929 he came to New York and joined the staff of the Guaranty Trust Company. In 1934 he became Vice-President and General Manager of the Canada Dry Ginger Ale Company, and he was elected to the Presidency in April, 1935.

Mr. Moore is an authority on labour relations from the standpoint of industry and possibly some of you may have been fortunate enough to have heard him on this subject at the Kiwanis International Convention in Boston, this past June. I understand on the morning on which he gave his address there were some 6,000 in attendance. In view of the immense significance of relations today between labour and industry, and the part they play in the present struggle to maintain the democratic way of life, we are indeed fortunate to have this opportunity to hear Mr. Moore, whose subject is "The Application of the Principles of Democracy to Industry's Labour Relations". I have very much pleasure in introducing Mr. Moore. (Applause)

Mr. Roy W. Moore: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, and Gentlemen: Let me acknowledge now my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I do this advisedly in the beginning, because if the new experience of raising my Yankee voice on the soil of the British Empire should overwhelm me, it would at least be remembered that I passed by with courtesy on my lips. As I stand here in your sympathetic presence, I am encouraged by your generous hospitality to get my second breath, and feeling more at home already, let me say that I count the privilege of speaking to you as a distinct compliment to industry in the United States. The honour of being your guest, with all the pleasure that the occasion brings me, also impresses me with the gravity of my obligation to you, for, after all, I am here to talk to you on a serious subject, so broad in its scope that it affects all people everywhere, their religions, their standards of living, their hopes and ambitions, their governments and their destinies.

I am sure that you will pardon my disregard for technicalities here; for the purpose of brevity I shall refer to things pertaining to the United States as American.

Although you have asked me to discuss the subject of labour relations from the viewpoint of American industry, I cannot refrain from reminding you at the outset, that those viewpoints are made in the same mould as your own, because of our common origin and because our concepts of civilization and democracy were acquired in the lap of one mother. American ideals and ideas must forever bear the mark, if not the fullness, of British culture. We are very proud of that fact, even though under some circumstances we would vie with one another in friendly fashion for better solutions of common problems. I say, you observe, under some circumstances we would vie with one another. I pause on the word *some* advisedly, for in many things we stand together as one. That is traceable to a gratifying trait of the race which I hope will live always.

In recent years and for the first time in the long history of our people we have witnessed a development of alien design, intended to threaten and destroy all the sacred foundations of our common faith, and I think we must be reminded by the course of late events, however far apart we may walk our separate ways, when the sun is shining, we head again toward home when the clouds gather over the institutions of our blood. (Applause) We seem at once then to revive the strength of kinship which perhaps for a time the flesh neglected and the blood alone remembered.

I mention this relationship between you and us because it reflects how deep and wide are the roots of human relationships. No subject involving labour relations can properly escape the meaning of the reasons why human beings think and act as they do. Therefore, in order to have before us a clear picture of the the viewpoint of American industry regarding labour relations, it would seem necessary to consider the background out of which the sentiments have sprung, for nearly all human standards acquire their form and character by the influence of some past or present environment.

In America, the basic principles on which industry's conceptions of the economy of enterprise, and of its relationships and responsibilities, are derived out of the fundamentals of the democracy of which it is a part. Democracy exists by the will of the people to respect and defend all the natural rights of one another and by the efficacy of the government to aid and protect the people in this purpose. That is the American scheme of things. As I understand it, it is also your scheme of things.

Every aspect of our national life concerns the individual. Every condition of our existence must be considered in the light of its effect upon the right of every man to enjoy the same liberties as every other man. Because all men do not have the advantage of seeing the same horizons and because they are viewed by varying influences, it is indeed a difficult matter for every one to see eye to eye, or to compare the exactness of his freedom with that of another. It is in the realm of this difficulty that the question of labour relations has become a national economic problem, and the subject of much debate.

The American economic pattern is made up of several large groups of individuals, the principals of which are industry and labour, with government the arbiter of their destinies. Each group has its viewpoint, made from the common beliefs of the individuals who compose it. Being at liberty to do so, each group talks much about the rights and obligations of free man. However large and powerful the group may be, still the individual is in essence supreme. Every consideration harks back to his condition. The way of democracy is not easy. Viewpoints clash on the question of what is and what is not an even and balanced justice. What sometimes seems to be the right of one man may conflict with what would seem to be the right of another. Time and patience are required to adjust these diverging concepts, and to arrive at an arrangement where every man shall be satisfied that no other man is unreasonably favoured with privileges in suppression of his own.

The attainment of such an arrangement is necessary if the fundamentals of our democracy are to endure. The attainment of such an arrangement, if desirable, is the definite responsibility of the constituent elements of society. Industry and labour are two of these several elements. In justification of themselves, they have the obligation to turn to the task which is set for them.

The paramount questions confronting them today are: Are the institutions of democracy desirable? Are they worth saving? In our country there is not even room for doubt that our people would answer these questions in the affirmative. We would protect with the last ounce of our blood the retention of our characteristic freedom of thought and liberty of action. The way of democracy is, with us, the way of life. It is our birth-mark, and our birthright. We will never purposely relinquish it, nor would we knowingly permit it to become a weak and impotent force. If the way of democracy is ever lost to us it will be only because the elements which compose our society have been neglectful of the fundamentals supporting it, because a temporary but seemingly all-important desire to attain some end of small consequence may blind us for the time, and take from us the spirit of sacrifice and compromise which is as indispensable to the continuity of democratic institutions as force and oppression are to dictatorships.

If our most treasured heritages are to be preserved we must do more than wish it. We cannot share the benevolence of democracy unless we know what it takes to preserve democracy and unless we are alert to its needs and willing to make such sacrifices as are necessary to sustain it. The strength of democracy lies in the genuineness of the spirit of its people, all of whose relationships, individual and economic, must be happy relationships. Democracy will endure or perish, depending on the ability of the people to learn the value of patience, to discriminate between small and big things, to put first things first and regardless of the sacrifices involved, to sift the wheat from the chaff.

American industry is conscious of these things. It appreciates the fact that the life of American democracy, national prosperity and, indeed, the destiny of our people depends in a large measure upon the condition of the relationship between itself and labour, and with these considerations in mind, the Congress of Industry, speaking through the National Association of Manufacturers, has given expression to its sentiments and purposes as follows:

"Industry recognizes mutually satisfactory labour relationships as an essential to industrial efficiency and to the providing of more jobs and better living. Industrial management recognizes that employees who wish to bargain collectively are entitled to do so in whatever form they may determine, through their own properly chosen representatives and without intimidation or restraint from any source. The disturbed labour relationships which have existed during the last few years are a major obstacle to recovery. Industry pledges its full co-operation in whatever changes may be necessary to correct these conditions. In order to promote mutually satisfactory labour relations which will increase production and provide more jobs, we urge employers to maintain a well-defined labour policy, suitable to the conditions of the community and industry, to provide opportunity for free interchange of ideas between management and employees on all matters of common interest, adequate opportunity for prompt consideration and adjustment of complaints, and fair wages for work performed, with incentives where they can be fairly applied as a reward for individual or group accomplishments, and to maintain good working conditions and constant improvement of the methods of production which creates jobs. Industrial management should endeavour to cushion the effect on individual employees of the introduction of new processes and labour-saving machinery. Management and labour should co-operate in using every practicable means to provide continuity of employment and should study the annual wages of employees in relation to their hourly earnings, and the number of days per year the plant operates, including careful consideration of the effect of hourly rates upon continuity of employment and income."

Thus industry has spoken. The language is plain. The words permit no doubtful or double interpretation. There is no misleading design. They reflect industry's consciousness of its democratic background, and its obligation to a democratic society. They reflect the spirit of sacrifice and compromise and its purpose to support its relationships with all good will.

As I read these pronouncements of the Congress of American Industry, I cannot help but be impressed that the trend of thought in the ranks of industry is taking complete account of these human attributes which are necessary to uphold and defend the democratic way of life, a condition of living that we know all people, everywhere, desire. The thought is inescapable that at least one element of our economy has not been neglected, but ties its thinking to the fundamental precepts of liberty and civilization, and that there are certain forces for good working among us. However mistakenly industry may have looked upon the scope of its social responsibility in the past it is my belief that, by and large, those mistakes were unintended. We were so absorbed in the science of management, production and distribution that we quite humanly may have passed for a moment a full consideration of those aspects of our business which are also the business of the other fellow, the public.

But now the time has come when we do recognize these things and I can imagine no better way to express the recognition of them than those words which have issued forth from industry itself. Surely there can be no doubt of the sincerity of purpose behind these words. Frankly, I have heard none, not even from the ranks of the most vicious groups. All of which should remind us that there is rarely any opposition to the things that are right. Nor does it take a wise man to distinguish between the true and the false. Nature has provided the least of us with the capacity to sense the right and with judgment enough not to oppose it.

I shall not take your time to discuss the details of industry's acceptance of its social responsibilities nor the scope of its obligations to engender a happy relationship between itself and labour, nor will I consider the details of a proper method by which labour and industry must carry on their inevitable negotiations. I shall leave that to the expert in matters of labour and public relations, and the economist, and satisfy myself to say if democracy is to survive that all issues between the great groups of our people should be settled at the conference table, in the atmosphere of good feeling, and that no human progress was ever made under conditions of belligerency.

I can tell you as one who should know that American industry is alive to these things.

Now, let me add a few words which I hoped I could never say. There is war in the world. The reason for it is that there are a few people who are not familiar with the precepts of civilization and for whom Nature did not provide the common human instinctiveness that might and right are two different things, nor are they given to understand that it is the Creator's will that the principles of might shall not, in the long run, win. Those who are familiar with human history know that this is so. True it is that some foul miscarriage has brought to the overlords a brief sense of victory, but never has there been any escape from the inevitableness of right, nor the certainty of retribution. One little sacrifice of pride could have saved the world the human misery which as certain as sunrise must follow in the wake of this war. Just one little concession to sit at the conference table, on the part of one man, to be open and above board in the purposes to be considered and to work together for truth and right would have averted years of nightmare and horror, distress and desolation for the human race.

Cannot industry and labour all over the world take heed of this lesson and the implications of human wilfulness?

Now, because of the exigencies of these trying times and because of your deep concern over the attitude of your friends regarding the course of your natural decisions, I wonder if you would pardon a brief digression from my subject, and permit me to say that although our American democracy was built upon the foundation of free speech, we, as a people do not agree with all the speeches that we have to hear. (Laughter and applause) Your friend just across the border is still your friend, and will prove to remain so throughout all your trials. (Loud applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: it has been an honour indeed to have the pleasure of hearing Mr. Moore's first public address in Canada. Industry in the United States could have no better ambassador than Mr. Moore with the inspiring address he has given us today. Our boundary is an excellent example of good relations between democratic countries. We keenly appreciate his assurance that the magnificent heritage of British ideals, of civilization and culture is still the common bond of the relationship between us.

On your behalf and on behalf of the radio audience I tender to Mr. Moore our hearty thanks and appreciation for his excellent talk today. We are very grateful to him for coming to us on this occasion and giving us in Canada such an inspiring talk on labour relations from the standpoint of industry. We thank you. (Applause)

"WHAT WILL THE BALTIC STATES DO?"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. MICHAEL HEILPERIN

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, October 24, 1939

CANON WOODCOCK: As I review the career of our distinguished guest today, I realize perhaps why it is that I am here, and not the President of this Club. He probably saw how difficult it would be for him to give even a cursory idea to the audience of the very distinguished career of our guest of honour!

Our guest-speaker today, as you see, is not an old man. When I think of what he has done, I expected to find a very old man, because he has compressed into those few years of his life some very wonderful achievements. In the first place, he is a scholar of international reputation. Having been born in Warsaw, of course he solicits our sympathy immediately, and we are delighted to welcome him for that reason, if for no other. He represents that war-stricken city, that city of heroic people who are martyrs in this our cause, as well as theirs. He represents them before us today and we welcome him because of that. He was Lecturer of Economics in the University of Geneva in 1932. He was a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States of America, 1933-35, and Assistant Professor in International Economic Relations of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva in 1935-38; and visiting Lecturer in Economics at the University of California in the spring of 1939. He was Consultant Expert at the 1937 and 1938 sessions of the International Studies Conference. He has published several books, well known to students of economics. His latest is one that has come out in the spring of this very year, entitled, "International Monetary Economics", published in the spring of 1939.

Dr. Heilperin is very interesting to us because he has just come from a long journey, visiting the chief cities of Europe, and so he has something to tell us that is very fresh concerning the state of affairs in Europe. We welcome him here today, not only because of what he is, but also because of himself. His charming personality, I am sure, will impress everybody as he proceeds with his speech. I have the very great honour, as well as pleasure, of introducing to the Empire Club of Canada, our guest of honour, Dr. Michael Heilperin. (Applause)

DR. MICHAEL HEILPERIN: I thank you so very much, Mr. Chairman, for these warm words of welcome, and you gentlemen for your expression of sympathy with my country. This is a very great comfort to me for which I am most grateful.

My subject today deals with what, until recently, we would have supposed to be the backwater of major international conflicts—the Baltic Sea and the countries that surround it.

The Baltic region had for a long time past lost its strategic role in international affairs, yet now, in the past few weeks it has almost monopolized the headlines. The subject on which I am to address you reads: "What will the Baltic States do?" What I will speak about will perhaps be better expressed by another question, "What may happen to the Baltic States?", because very much may happen to the Baltic States, but perhaps there isn't very much they can do about it themselves.

What are the Baltic States, in the first place? They are a number of small countries; some of them are known to be democracies; they have not very much military power; they are located around the Baltic Sea. I would consider as Baltic States Denmark and Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, not to forget Poland, and not to forget Germany and Russia. They are all States of the Baltic. Nevertheless, when one speaks of the "Baltic States", one usually refers to the three small states that have together a population a little smaller than greater New York, or greater London, and which are the centre of diverse cultural and linguistic interests—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and, more recently one is inclined to include Finland, which I think is quite legitimate, because not only are the Finns first cousins of the Estonians in origin but they are today facing a very similar type of problem. To this I would like to add that Poland should also be considered as one of the Baltic States, on account of centuries' old connections and associations which I will try to explain presently.

You may ask quite legitimately, not only *what* are the Baltic States? but also, *why* are the Baltic States? Why are there on the map these small, separate countries—the Baltic countries—which were not there before the war of 1914-18 and which have emerged as independent political units after that war? Why are there so many of them and why are they so small?

Well, all these countries have an old history and even though until the post-war period they never have had a full-fledged political independence and were controlled, now by Danes, now by Swedes, now by Poles, now by Russians, they have maintained their particular characteristics, their language, their culture.

Now, who are they? The Estonians are very closely related to the Finns; they came to this part of Europe from Asia and are a part of a Mongolian group which has become very strongly assimilated with the people of Europe proper.

The Latvians and the Lithuanians are of a very different origin but they are not Slavs, either. They constitute, amid Slavs and Germans, a very determined and distinctive ethnic and cultural group. The Latvian and the Lithuanian languages have perhaps more in common with each other than they have either with Polish or German or Estonian. The Lithuanian language is considered by scholars to bear a closer relationship to the old Sanskrit than any other European language.

Now, those groups fell in the 12th and 13th centuries, under the domination partly of the Danes, (who were at that time expanding), and partly of the Order of Teutonic Knights. The Danes controlled part of present Estonia, surrendering later to the Swedes. Estonia, after many changes of fate, finally passed from the Swedish to the Russian domination in 1721.

Latvia also had a very disturbed history. Having been conquered by the Teutonic Order it was, for a time, part of the same political unit with Estonia. Eventually while Estonia passed under Swedish rule, Latvia was largely incorporated into the Polish-Lithuanian Federation. Livonia—part of present-day Latvia—was annexed by Sweden in 1621 and by Russia in 1710. During the 19th century, all of present Latvia was under Russian rule.

With regard to Lithuania, its history was rather different from that of Latvia and Estonia, because in the 14th century, it became united with Poland by personal, monarchic union, and in the 16th century, Poland and Lithuania became a Federation. From then onward Poland and Lithuania were a federal state. This is important in view of certain possibilities in the future.

Through all this history these States retained their personalities as social groups. During the World War their territories were occupied in turn by Germans and by Soviets and by Germans again and finally liberated. After the War, they organized into independent democratic states. They all started by adopting an advanced model of democracy and each of them developed very soon, with the exception of Estonia, perhaps, a certain "crown of democracy" along with accentuated nationalistic tendencies. This was unfortunately a corollary of the growth of nationalism in the post-war era. However, they improved their economy, which is mostly agricultural. They developed their cultural life. They embarked, for the first time in their history, on a fuller independent existence.

The foregoing observations furnish an answer to the questions, *what* and *why* are the Baltic States.

Let me now say a word about Finland. For 110 years previous to the Treaty of Versailles, Finland was an autonomous duchy under the control of Russia. All these four countries and Poland, (to the extent to which she was under the Russian rule before the World War), were the victims of the Imperialism of the Czars, which in the 17th and particularly the 18th century spread very widely to the west as well as to the east. Gradually all the aforementioned countries fell under its domination.

This was not all. In addition, these countries were exposed to the eastward expansion of the Germans. The so-called Baltic Barons were heirs to the Teutonic Order; after the secularization of the Order, its lands became a vassal duchy of Poland and later of Prussia. Thus came into being the so-called East Prussia. Owing to the German memories which were very much alive in these countries, they were aware in the post-war years not only of having freed themselves from the Russian domination, but also of having avoided being taken over into the orbit of German influences.

So, after the war, the history of all these small countries was one of trying to consolidate, to develop their national life, while at the same time there was a mounting fear of further difficulties and invasions. The fear, I should say, was growing as time went on, especially from 1933 onward, and particulary with respect to Germany. Germany had developed a tendency to take under the protective wings of the Reich all Germans, wherever they lived, so that some alarm was felt in those countries. With the passage of time, this has developed into a serious menace.

Now, those various groups of countries around the Baltic Sea, the Scandinavian group and the Baltic countries proper, have made various attempts after the World War to draw more closely together, realizing that for economic reasons, as well as for political reasons, reasons of safety, union might increase their strength as well as their prosperity. This co-operation as regards the Scandinavian countries, resulted in the establishment of the "Oslo Group", started as an attempt to lower tariffs in their reciprocal trade relations, and developed into a system of regular consultations among their Foreign Ministers and, more recently on certain occasions, among the heads of their States.

Finland occupies in this picture a somewhat particular position; it is a Scandinavian country, on account of its Swedish minority and general affinity and common ties of interest with Sweden and Norway (particularly as regards their Northern sections). On the other hand, it is a Baltic country on account of its close affinity with the Estonians, and political dangers to which both are exposed. It is a fact that geographically Finland and Estonia face each other across the Gulf of Finland, which is the outlet leading from Leningrad into the Baltic Sea.

Now, this is the situation and it must be said that the Scandinavian countries have on the whole been as successful in their co-operation as the "Baltic States" have been unsuccessful. Various formulae were adopted, various methods of approach were chosen in turn; it is impossible to describe and analyze them within the time limit of this address; it suffices to mention that none was crowned with success.

Successful or not, these various attempts expressed an inherent desire for greater unity, a feeling of solidarity and were indicative of a certain trend toward closer association. Now, Poland, situated as she was between Germany and Russia, that is to say in the same position as that of the small Baltic States, felt that there was a good case for a general unity of policies among that group of countries. Poland considered herself a Baltic State an, I think, rightly so. Not only her past history but her present situation makes Poland a member of the "Baltic States". Living as it were, between Scylla and Charybdis, Germany and Russia, all these countries must find it imperitive to collaborate closely with one another to maintain their independence.

It may well be that the only formula that could have had a real chance of success would have been one going the whole way toward unifying those countries into a Federal State. Maybe there was in recent years too many minor frictions and petty jealousies—and a regrettable lack of mutual confidence. In brief, one didn't succeed in bringing about a closer collaboration in spite of that line of efforts which started very soon after the war and didn't finish until recently. Even last year, it was one of the endeavours of the Polish Government to bring a closer union of the Baltic States with Poland and to extend it to Roumania and to the Black Sea and form in this way a block of countries which would control a sufficiently large area and dispose of a sufficient strength to be able to put a real barrier to both the Russian or the German expansion.

The history of all of this part of Europe is a history of a struggle against that eastward expansion by Germany and the westward expansion by Russia.

Now, how about the Scandinavian countries? They are not situated between Germany and Russia. Have they anything in common with the Baltic countries? Well, for various economic and strategic reasons, Denmark is threatened by Germany, entirely apart from the problems of the small Baltic States. Norway is out of such danger as regards her southern and western parts. The north of Norway, however, contains ice-free harbours, and ice-free harbours have long been coveted by the Russian Imperialism. Also in the North-east, there are the very rich iron ore deposits of Sweden. Both northern Sweden and northern Norway are neighbouring on Finland. Thus they are necessarily concerned with the fate of Finland, because anything that happens to Finland is likely, in the end, to affect their own position. This is the background for the recent conference of the thre Scandinavian Kings with the President of Finland.

Now the picture becomes more complete, because we see that the problem of the Baltic States is one that extends directly or indirectly to all the small states in the Baltic. Denmark, as I said, is threatened for other reasons, but would be a necessary victim of an expanding Germany.

A new element in the picture was afforded by the adoption by Soviet Russia of an active expansionist policy. This modified profoundly the scope and gravity of the Baltic problem. Until last September the only fear of the Baltic States was an expansion of Germany, and they may have even considered that Russia might under certain conditions help to protect them against the German expansion. What they envisaged as more likely than that was their becoming a battle-field in a conflict between Germany and

Russia. What they did not envisage was a simultaneous expansion, without conflict, of both Germany and Soviet Russia, that is to say, a revival of the situation existing in the 18th century. We don't know whether it is the Imperialism of the Czars that has revived, or whether there are other explanations for the policies of the Kremlin. But it looks very much like a reversion to the pre-1914, and even to the pre-19th century tendencies.

Poland was the first victim of the return of Russia into the orbit of active politics. Were it not for Russia's entrance into the war with Poland, probably there would still be a very substantial defence front along the Bug and Narew Rivers. According to the available information, there were even in the middle of September, very serious extensive preparations for the establishment of such a defence-line east from Warsaw. So that after losing perhaps Warsaw to the invading German army, the Polish army might have entrenched itself along such a shorter front, which, on account of natural conditions and the winter climate more favourable to defensive warfare, would be much easier to defend than was the long western front. However it may be, this plan was broken the moment Soviet troops crossed Poland's eastern borders. It would have been impossible to fight at the same time against the German attack and against a Russian attack. So, if Poland has been partitioned and unable to defend the rest of its territory, it was in part due to the change in the orinentation of the Russian policies.

This same change of orientation has caused the Kremlin to issue invitations in turn, to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and to acquire peacefully, since there was nothing else for the smaller countries to do than to accept Russian terms, naval and aerial bases in all these countries, and full control over various small but strategically highly important islands, as well as the right to fortify the southern border of Lithuania. Now an invitation has been extended to Finland, and if she should yield to similar demands, Russia will be in practical control of the area that she controlled before the war (except for a certain section of central

Poland, including Warsaw and Lodz, which is under German occupation now, and was under Russian occupation before the war). If this is not Imperialism, I am not quite sure by what name I should call it. Anyhow, we shall have to wait and see.

Now, let us revert to the opening question: what can the Baltic countries do? From what I have said until now, it follows very clearly, I think, that there is not much they can do. I don't quite imagine how Estonia or Latvia with their little over two million inhabitants could have waged a war. Why, even the 20,000 Russian troops which are going to be lodged as garrisons in those countries are supposedly larger than their peace time standing armies, so they can't do anything else, but give in and hope that their cultural independence will be preserved. History will show whether that hope will be fulfilled or not. Anyway, it is the only hope under the circumstances.

If one were to draw a contrast between the position of those countries and that of the smaller countries in the west of Europe—Belgium and Holland—one would find that the latter have a much greater freedom of action than the small Baltic States. If they are menaced by Germany, Belgium and Holland can find help in a close co-operation with the two friendly democracies of Great Britain and France, and they know that even if they are overrun in the conflict, as Belgium was in the last war, they will be re-established after the victory of their democratic friends.

Imagine Lithuania asking Germany to protect her against Soviet Russia! Would this mean that Lithuania would keep her independence? No. It would only mean having Germany as her master, rather than Russia. There is a choice in the case of the western countries. The small states in Eastern Europe are, in the short run, entirely helpless against the Imperialism of both Germany and Russia. What they can do is to maintain as much of their cultural life as possible and hope that the ultimate outcome of the conflict will restore them to free life, which is indeed also the only hope of my countrymen, and of all the other victims of expanding Germany, including Czechoslovakia.

All of this puts the problem of the small states of Europe in its proper perspective. The small states in Europe today cannot *do* very much. There are forces in action beyond their own strength and beyond their combined strength, and the moment for a unification of their political, economic and military resources and bringing them under joint command, has been sadly missed.

So, today, the problem of those countries is essentially the problem of the future of international relations in Europe and, generally speaking, in the world. Will Europe be thrown back to power politics at their crudest, and the reign of force at its most brutal? Or is the future to be the restoration of an *international order* in which all countries would combine their strength to guarantee the existence and the freedom of each? The latter was the formula adopted in establishing the League of Nations, the formula of collective security. For various reasons, the analysis of which would require more time, the system of collective security has not lived up to expectations in the last years. This was largely due to the fact that one cannot have a system of international organization that would mean something unless every country makes certain sacrifices of sovereignty, and those sacrifices were not made.

The history of the past twenty years that will be written some day will be indeed a very tragic history. The future of all the small states of Europe rests essentially on the outcome of this war, and this war can only lead to one of two solutions. Either the victory of powers that would establish brutal force, which would be a catastrophe for all of us, or the victory of the great western democracies. And this must result, if that is to have any lasting effect, in the restoration of a system of law in the world, or, of a system of collective security. Those countries which either have lost temporarily their independent life, on account of the system of collective security not having worked—Czechoslovakia and my own country, Poland—and countries which are losing much of their independence like the Baltic countries, and countries which may any day be invaded by fighting armies, like Holland and Belgium—

all these countries must know, and all of them I am sure *do* know, that whatever ordeals they are going through now are sufferings in the noblest cause that there is: the cause of establishing order and freedom in the world.

So, what can the Baltic countries do? I think they can only try to understand where their present plight came from and, as soon as they are able again to act, become supporters of a general system of law and order. This *may* mean for northeastern Europe, for the Baltic countries, and perhaps for Czechoslovakia, a federal solution. A federal solution involves fundamentally three factors—an economic union, a joint foreign policy, and the pooling of military resources. If those countries can realize a sufficient degree of solidarity, they will enjoy much more security and will be able to achieve a higher degree of cultural and economic progress than they could realize otherwise.

All this is a matter for the future, and for the moment I am afraid there is nothing else for these countries to do than to keep abloom their cultures, their ideals, their social and community life, and hope that this war will be won by the Powers that will use victory for the re-establishment of law, order and freedom in the world. I thank you.

(Applause)

CANON WOODCOCK: Dr. Heilperin, I am sure everybody is very grateful for this calm, reasoned, exposition of the situation in the Baltic States. I have myself admired your restraint, that, having been born in Warsaw, a native of that stricken country, you could stand here and so calmly, so quietly and so reasonably describe the situation that is existing there today. We feel that we are under obligation to you for giving us this authentic and authoritative information regarding the situation in the Baltic States.

I know it might be interesting to the Members of this Club if I mention that at the head table today we have guests who are representative of many nations, particularly concerned with the subject of the address. We are glad to welcome them here today.

We regret very much that the Committee in charge of broadcasting has not permitted this address to be broadcast today. It had to do with international affairs and was not submitted to the authorities and therefore could not be broadcast. We regret that very much indeed. We also regret that the speech to be delivered to this Club next Thursday by Mr. Cameron will not be broadcast.

On your behalf, I wish to thank Dr. Heilperin most heartily for his address today. (Applause)

"THE UNITED STATES—ITS GENERAL ATMOSPHERE AND CONDITIONS"

AN ADDRESS BY W. J. CAMERON

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, October 26, 1939

CANON WOODCOCK: As I rise to introduce the speaker, our guest of honour today, a text comes to my mind, that may be familiar to some of you: "I have heard of you by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee". Of course, I would like to tell Mr. Cameron that I have just made that remark in order to let him know how long it takes for an idea to filter through an audience, so that he will be quite prepared to make things particularly plain when he comes to speak before the Empire Club of Canada.

Now, I don't know what you think, but when "mine eye seeth him of whom I have heard by the hearing of the ear," I find that he is a very much handsomer man than I expected to see. We all have our visions as we listen to him over the radio, and the picture that I had of Mr. Cameron was quite different, although, mind you, it was a very fine picture that I had. But when I saw him today I saw a much handsomer man than I had conceived.

Some of you may not know that Job is the author of that text which I just quoted, and when a clergyman stands up to speak, even if his task is simply to introduce a speaker, he can hardly help choosing a text, and doing a little preaching. Well, Job, I do not think had a radio in his day, so it was not by the hearing of the radio that he had heard. It was not by that instrumentality but no one could say that Job was not up to date, notwithstanding the fact that many people today are feeling and thinking that the Bible is more or less obsolete. He is up to date because he has expressed that idea that was in many of our minds as we assembled here today, waiting for the address. Job did not have a radio but he had something else, something which was more wonderful than a radio. He had an instrument through which and by which he was able to communicate with Jehovah himself. That is where the preaching comes in, Gentlemen. He was able to communicate with Jehovah himself, and the simple instrument that he used was one that is always in vogue with the human race, that is, the instrumentality of prayer.

Mr. Cameron comes here, not as a stranger. I want to assure you everybody within the hearing of his voice is included in that group which he addresses, Sunday by Sunday, "Friends of the Sunday Evening Hour".

We welcome him here today for himself. We welcome him for what he has done, and for the particular talents which he possesses. We welcome him also because he is a Canadian (Applause). Now, of course you think this would be enough to commend him to any audience in this country. Of course, it was in Hamilton where he was born, but I notice, as I always do, that something else must be mentioned. He was not only born in Canada, but he is of Scottish descent. I never knew a Scotsman yet who didn't have to announce the fact that he was a Scotsman—never. He may be a Canadian, but he is of Scottish descent. Why is it that everybody who happens to have a grandfather or a grandmother who was born in Scotland announces the fact to everybody? Well, I suppose it is because of that national characteristic, "What we have we hold"—even that.

Now, Gentlemen, we appreciate Mr. Cameron not only for his common sense, for his business acumen, we also appreciate him because of his wonderful command of the English language. I think this is one reason why we listen to him Sunday night after Sunday night, because of his clear diction, because he manipulates that wonderful English tongue so he can convey to his audience exactly what he means in simple words, simple words which are beautiful to listen to as they come from his lips.

I have great pleasure, and I also deem it an honour to introduce to this Empire Club of Canada, Mr. W. J.

Cameron, of the Ford Motor Company, Detroit, Michigan. His subject is: "The United States—Its General Atmosphere and Conditions."—Mr. Cameron.

MR. W. J. CAMERON: Canon Woodcock, Gentlemen: I appreciate this gracious introduction and the hospitable atmosphere of this room. When I was asked to put a name to this address, it came to me that possibly you might want to hear a report of present conditions in the United States —not as they appear in the headlines, but as they appear to one who travels constantly among the American people, and who is in touch with the American businessman.

Early last winter some of us began to feel that 1939 would prove to be a crucial year for United States business, and it has so proved. The choice before us in the autumn of 1938 was to sink to lower depths of complaint and defeatism under the embargoes which maladroit political administration had placed upon normal business operations, or deliberately to discount these, dismiss them utterly from our minds, and try what new forces might be brought into play by a dogged daily and deliberate application of personal effort to the job—greater even than we had given it before.

You know, of course, that recovery in the United States always has lagged behind that of Canada. While your ecometric readings were normal or approaching normal, ours were always fluctuating and always seemed weighted for a downward plunge. We attributed this at the time, and quite rightly I think, to your greater freedom from political interference and to the irritation which such interference begat in the business mind of the States. Freedom from interference enabled you to give at least a less divided mind to your task. But it was for us in the United States to seek somehow to attain a state of mind similar to yours, while yet the political irritation remained with us. Not being able to get rid of the one we had somehow to find a method of getting rid of the other, and it is this, I think, that we have succeeded in a measure in doing. That has far more importance as an announcement than any business statistics I could recite, for I have found that business statistics of the United States, and I suppose it is true everywhere, follow precisely the temperature of the business spirit.

There is an entirely new spirit abroad in United States business—not as a result of any upturn of business, Gentlemen,—please have that clearly in your minds; it is not that things suddenly turned for the better and therefore our minds took on a better cast—the improved state of mind appeared before there was any material upturn.

Another thing I feel quite sure of—the present upturn of business in the United States is not to any great degree the direct or indirect consequences of war trade. The whole point is that the change was not due to an extraneous stimulus, but to a new self-recognition and self-reliance on the part of business men. They realized that more depended on what effort business could make than upon any effort made against business. To maintain the functions of business and charge the economic circulation with sound elements, became recognized as the highest patriotic duty of the hour. That is the great change which has occurred in the business mind of the United States during this year, 1939.

Now, not to conduct a post-mortem examination, but to sketch in the background of this period, let me take a moment to recall what had happened to the American business mind previous to 1938. It is an almost incredible story. The period represented by 1929, a period of prosperity, falsely so-called, was a total loss to American business. It was a fever and not a progress. It brought the country to a technological standstill. The demand for production was so great that improvement within industry stopped. More technical advance has been made during the depression than during the entire period of the so-called prosperity. Management has come back to an alert attention to its job. The business man's conception of the functions of business in society has been restored. But the result of that period of "prosperity" was that the business mind was left soft and retrograde. If it hadn't been pretty soft, no political administration would have dared to suggest anything resembling the NRA for the control of business.

An election intervened. Demagogues came up from every quarter, fattening upon the distress of people and upon the general bewilderment of American society at the time.

Tyros appeared in places of power with national treasuries and legislative power behind them, to put any fool idea into force, and fasten it upon the country. The witch-hunt against business was on in full force, and every economic fallacy of the last four thousand years was brought out of the stable and given a new trial. Laws were changed overnight, and business did not know from day to day where it was. Taxes soared. With one exception, every Government official of Cabinet rank, engaged in a vendetta against business, holding it up to public scorn and indictment; and to this persecution was added prosecution in the courts and before the inquisitorial committees of the Senate. Manufacturers were brought in from all parts of the country to give an account of their dastardly crimes—the making of things that supplied the people's needs. Even the medical profession was not spared; the American Medical Association was indicted, and like the rest, finally acquitted in the courts.

But the effect of all this bludgeoning upon the business mind was a rather terrible thing to behold. It was rather terrible to see the spirit of complaint steadily reducing what should have been the most balanced and resistant type of mind in the country, to see hypochondria settling down upon business thought, to see men weakly alleging political or economic alibis to explain their lack of energy and courage. The spirit of defeatism was everywhere.

Well, that political bludgeoning at length became so serious that it acted like an overdose of poison. Business suddenly ejected the whole thing, simply cast it out and wrote it off and in the classic words of an American Admiral, said, "Full steam ahead and damn the torpedoes".

Well, we are not under full steam as yet, but we have won a spirit of disdain for the political torpedoes. It has been like a rebirth of the spirit of constructive enterprise, that first built the country. The political disabilities of which business complained still remain on the books, but they have lost their enervating power upon our American business mind.

Now, that is the basis for the determination of American business that no further power over it shall be given to those who have so unwisely persecuted and hindered it up to now. And that is also the key to much that is transpiring today—the debate on the so-called Neutrality or embargo Bill.

The embargo that the American people desire to retain has little to do with goods, or international trade, or with the international situation. It has entirely to do with retaining such restraint as we already can put against the extension and abuse of emergency power in government. That is the embargo the people of the United States want to retain. It is purely an internal matter.

Two extremes of American thought have met and flow together in the present so-called embargo debate. One is the demand by plain people all through our country, as the result of twenty-five years of education, that the distress of nations shall not again be made a source of profit. That is a very definite element in American thought today. The other is the demand by men of business that no plea of international emergency shall be made an excuse for clamping down with those extraordinary dictatorial powers we have successfully resisted in times of peace. The neutrality these two parties in the United States want is neutrality on the part of political administration toward business during this period—a moratorium on attempts to subjugate American enterprise under the guise of war necessity and thus achieve by trick what it failed to do in fair and open debate. American business is determined to put an embargo on any further unconstitutional abuse of power in the United States. These are the real issues behind the present debate. It will be settled by concessions and agreements that have nothing to do with what the headlines are screaming, but have much to do with the matters I have been discussing. When these matters are settled, of which I have spoken, all the rest become secondary, and will be settled in their turn in accordance with our tradition. I wish you, as Canadians, could occupy a point of vantage from which to see what is transpiring. It might prevent unnecessary misunderstanding.

I have often said in this City of Toronto that you have public whales that blow at times, and we have public whales that blow at times, and the part of common sense for both of us is to pay them no attention whatever. They don't represent either of our peoples. Every nation looks out for their own responsibilities first. You are pro-British, the United States are pro-American, but both give allegiance to the same basic principles, without which neither of them would be nations, and in the peril of those principles from the hand of force or from the doctrines of darkness, you, as Canadians, and we, as Americans, will react in precisely the same way. (Applause) In the United States, we want to tie up certain un-American forces first.

Now, this strengthening of the business mind, this firming of its fiber, that I have just been reporting to you is very welcome, as everything in the nature of gain is welcome these days; but it is not the only hopeful sign to be seen in the United States. There is, however, this to say about our gains thus far: They represent wrong courses dropped, more than they represent right courses advanced. They represent social, rather than official changes. They are negative, but they are numerous and important.

There has been a decided change for the better in the popular attitude towards business. For a long time our people stood on the side lines watching what they thought was a private war between political administration and business, as if the champions of economic justice stood arrayed on one side and the forces of economic oppression on the other; and whenever government hit business, there was a spirit of cheering among the onlooking population. Then, suddenly, for no observable reason, the people seemed to awake to the fact that business was their business, not the business of the businessman,—their business, their employment, their supply, their economic security. They began to sense what could be done to all, that any programme of "soaking the rich" was a prelude to a programme of soaking the poor; that such a programme, once begun, had to go all the way down the line. Once started on the policy of levying the punitive, confiscatory taxes against business, the effects eventually reached the people, for such taxes are paid, not from the treasuries of corporations, nor are they merely passed on as charges against the ultimate consumer. Taxes of that character are eventually paid for in loss of jobs. American corporations have absorbed 65 to 70 percent of the additional taxes laid upon them, but that could not go on forever. Very soon it became apparent that taxes were absorbing funds that normally were used for business expansion.

Sixty-five percent of United States national income has always gone for our livelihood, and five percent for the maintenance of government, leaving thirty percent for industrial growth and expansion. Now, sixty-five percent of income still goes for our living, but thirty percent of the remainder goes for government, and only five percent for expansion. And that means a curtailment of jobs throughout the whole Republic. Confiscatory taxation is pay-roll robbery. It puts men out of work.

The American people have come to see that the free processes of production and distribution are really the physical core of the national life. They have seen that the plain man's dollar at the store is always worth a hundred cents; that the same dollar in public expenditure is never quite worth a hundred cents; but the business or industrial dollar, passing through all the processes of production and distribution, touching trade after trade, business after business, family after family, multiplies itself twenty times, and that to stop its multiplication and circulation is simply to create economic anaemia.

With this new attitude toward business there has come a very general repudiation of a false political and economic philosophy. This has come about, not through propaganda, not through the opposition of any party, because very little propaganda against these uneconomic and un-American things has been permitted. Opposition to them has not been organized. The thing itself broke down in its collision with natural law. So, this false philosophy has crumpled and the reason the country did not crumple with it is that the country had been very strongly built by our fathers upon the very principles these new saviours of the world now tell us are all wrong.

The aftermath of this failure of the fallacies has been the appearance of two distict reactions—one of resentment, and one of reasonableness.

Gentlemen, it is one thing to repudiate a government because it has failed to make a scheme work, and another thing to repudiate the scheme itself because it is essentially unworkable. Personally, I don't blame our politicians because they were unable to make the New Deal work. I blame them for their innocence or ignorance in ever thinking that it would work. Their failure is to me a grand testimony to the integrity of the universe. We live in a world, it seems, where wrong things can't go right, and right things will always rise above the wrong. We should rather thank God for all these failures of falsities, than blame men for them.

Nonetheless, resentment has arisen amongst many because the Kingdom of Heaven did not come in the shape of bank notes, and that resentment now is being curried by a new host of candidates who rise to outpromise the former ones. The old assumptions are reappearing—that unemployment is a permanent and necessary condition of social life, that government paternalism must continue to the end of time, and that the grab-bag of sociology is the accepted one. They have accepted the depression as a career. Gentlemen, if the depression ever is cured there is going to be a lot of technological unemployment among those who had hoped to standardize the United States at fifty percent, and pass their lives in nursing an invalid nation.

All of these beliefs are the badges of nations that are dying; they denote systems of wealth built upon acquisition, systems of authority based on force, systems of power built upon the violent destruction of human dignity. Those things are doomed in the world. The prophets of doom have much on their side, if we clearly understand what they are talking about.

But when we confuse the civilization in which you and I live and which is built on quite other principles, with the system that is passing,—when we include this also in the general doom, we are only proclaiming our abysmal ignorance of this comparatively new thing in the world, this germ of the future, our Anglo-Saxon civilization. We need not resort to the devices of the dead and dying nations.

But even greater than that resentment and its new crop of "promising" politicians, is the new reasonableness that is apparent. Its characteristic has been an abandonment of man worship. Hitherto the history of the States has taught the people to believe that in periods of change, accompanied by distress, a great leader would be produced. The present period has not produced a great leader, and so great a break in the historic pattern has set our people thinking. What does this fact mean? How is it to be interpreted? They have interpreted it widely throughout our land to mean this,—that the American has been too reliant on leaders, and not enough self-reliant—too reliant on brilliant personality comets that streak across the political skies once every four or eight years, leaving nothing but dust behind; too ready to mistake the glare of campaign torches for the dawn of the millenium. It is taken to mean that we are not to be saved by supermen,—there are none, anyway. We are to be saved by the strength, stability, sobriety, morality and steadfastness of the people.

We also believe in our country that the fact of no new economic or political principle appearing, has a lesson for us also; it seems to say to the people that they already have all the principles they need on which to advance. What is needed is further observance of the principles that have brought us so safely and so far, greater faith in them, boldly stepping out upon them, trusting they will bear our weight and unfold before us, leading us into wider paths and on to stronger foundations. No new leader arising has thrust the people back upon themselves. No new principle discovered, has thrown them back upon the principles they know. Have they been exhausted? Our people are asking. Have they been discredited? The answer is always No.

That seems to be the spirit that is coming over our people. This way of life in which for generations our fathers have walked and in which they have been fed is still in its immature state. Let it grow; let the full fruitage and beauty of Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization ripen, as it surely will, and then politically and economically, socially and spiritually, we shall be justified of our faith.

Gentlemen, I thank you very much for your courteous attention. (Applause)

CANON WOODCOCK: Gentlemen: We are most grateful to you for your very fine address. Coming from a businessman, it gives us great assurance of the integrity and the honesty of business people, and we feel, as you do, that a government's function is to protect business and to foster business, and not to hinder and harm business, because surely it is the very life blood of the nation and it is only when business can progress that a nation can advance and people can be reasonably happy.

We are very grateful to you, Sir, for coming here and we feel that we are honoured by your presence, and by the very fine address that you have given us. In the name of the Empire Club of Canada, I thank you most heartily. (Applause)

"INDIA"

AN ADDRESS BY

SARDAR HARDIT SINGH MALIK, O.B.E., I.C.S.

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, November 2, 1939

CANON WOODCOCK: If this world is ever going to realize the universal brotherhood of mankind, it will be because of the world's background of sorrow and of pain and pathos, a world of men that is united when it has an appreciation of the sorrow and the pathos of a human family. Not in prosperity and in peace, but in adversity and when there is a general sense of danger do men really unite, and so it is that the British Empire, this far-flung domain that stretches wherever the sun shines, is united today in a very extraordinary manner because of a common foe, and the appreciation that that common foe is not only the foe of the Empire but is the foe of the whole human family.

So today we are delighted to have as our guest of honour one who represents that great and wonderful part of the Empire which we know as India. (Applause) We realize that the Indian people have a great contribution to make, not only to the Empire, but to the world at large, because of their nature and because of their peculiar talents. They are a very clever people intellectually and they are a contemplative people. They are not afraid to meditate. We western people are afraid to meditate, because most of us have not the courage to face ourselves and no man can face himself unless he knows something about contemplation and meditation. But these mystical people of India not only are contemplative but they are practical, too. They come over to England and they sweep away scholarships in our finest universities and they also achieve a place on the finest teams in our athletic world.

Now, one typical of these Indian people is our guest of honour today—Mr. H. S. Malik. He has given his life in the service of the Empire. He was educated in England, at Balliol College. I don't know whether you realize Mr. Malik, that we in Toronto don't think that is the proper pronunciation of that word. We have a street in Toronto by that name—it happens to be in my parish. We call it "Băll-oil". I think we have a perfect right to pronounce it that way if we like, because the people in England pronounce many of our words in a very extraordinary way. After an Englishman had pronounced several words in England in a way an American couldn't understand he happened to mention Niagara Falls. "O, yes, yes. We don't pronounce it that way. We call it 'Niffles'."

Well, he is a graduate of Balliol, and he is a great cricketer, and a great sport. He was just telling me that in golf, which he took up after he had almost given up cricket, he has a handicap of five in New York. Of course they don't play quite as well in New York as they do in Toronto, but I think he would be six or seven, even in Toronto.

Now, it is my honour to introduce to you today our guest of honour, Mr. Malik. I am sorry that the President of the Club has not this distinction. Dr. Gaby anticipated being here but was delayed a little longer than he expected in the west. So it falls to me, Sir, and I do deem it a very great honour to introduce you to the Empire Club of Canada. (Applause)

S. H. S. MALIK, O.B.E., I.C.S.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am deeply grateful to you, Sir, for the kind invitation that has brought me here today. It is not only a great pleasure but a great privilege to meet so many gentlemen distinguished in the life of this great city. I feel also fairly at home among Canadians because, although I cannot claim any long acquaintance with your country, I do claim to have known Canadians for some considerable time. During the last war I had the privilege of serving in several squadrons of the Royal Air Force, and in almost every squadron I found five or six, sometimes more, Canadians. I had the privilege of the friendship of some of them. Among them was a Toronto man, the late Colonel Barker, V.C., D.S.O., who had one of the finest records in the late war and who was in addition a very fine man. (Applause)

I appreciate this opportunity, Sir, particularly because I find that in America, generally speaking, that my country is not very well known, and it is very nice to have the opportunity to attempt, at any rate, to give some kind of true picture of Indian life. I find since coming here that there are some very curious misconceptions. For instance, in the States, where both my family and I have had the kindest reception, and have been very well treated everywhere, we have had some amusing experiences. It is very nice to be taken for a Maharajah, but somewhat embarrassing to be taken for a fortune-teller! I must tell you my experience in regard to fortune-telling. I think it was the next day after we arrived in New York that I took my wife for a quiet dinner to the Waldorf Astoria. We noticed at the table next to us a small party—two ladies and one gentleman. I observed that the ladies in the party seemed to be very interested in our table and I knew something would happen before the evening was over. True enough, as we were having our coffee, one of the ladies came up to our table and she said, "May I sit down?" I said, "Yes, do". I got up from my chair. She then looked at me very earnestly and she said, "Can you tell me what is going to happen to me?"

I have even been taken for a Blue-beard. Last winter I took my wife down to Pinehurst, in North Carolina for a week's vacation. We thought we were going to have a quiet time, away from any kind of press photographs and publicity. Unfortunately, our visit coincided with a visit of all the prominent golf professionals of the United States, at an open tounament held there every year. I welcomed that; I thought we would certainly be lost in that distinguished crowd. Not at all. We were dining with some friends the first evening and the nurse came up triumphantly with the evening paper. There was a large photograph of myself, and the article was to this effect: "Among the interesting personalities competing in the tournament is the swarthy Swell from India—Mr. H. S. Malik." It then went on to say, "It is said he is allowed ninety wives. On this occasion, however, he turned up with only one." I was embarrassed to see this because I had not had a talk of any kind with any press man. Subsequently, I met the writer of that article and I said, "You know, you are very flattering to me. I have neither the constitution nor the financial means."

Now, Sir, when this talk was planned the world was still at peace. Most of us were still living in the hope that, somehow or other, a way would be found of settling the difficulties and problems that existed, without actually resorting to force. Since then we have had war and no one knows when the deluge will be over; what, if anything, will be left for salvage. It was then that I accepted the invitation of your President because I felt I might be able to give you a talk and an account of recent developments in India, particularly in the industries. Now, under the changed circumstances, industry and commerce and trade seem to be somewhat trivial beside the terrific issue that we face. Of course, they still continue to be of the greatest importance. I felt, however, that a talk merely on industry and commerce might be somewhat out of place. I propose, therefore, with your permission, Sir, to give you a brief account of recent development in India's industrial life, and to say something also about India's reactions in the present crisis.

Now India, of course, has been, since time immemorial, an agricultural country and it still continues to be principally agricultural. We have, however, over the centuries, maintained a very fine tradition of craftsmanship and that tradition is now being continued in our manufacturing industries which have been developed in India. People don't realize, I think, generally, what a great change has taken place in the industrial and economic life of the country during the last twenty-five years. It began, actually, a little before the last war, but the last war accentuated that tendency to manufacture goods in India. We were deprived of the usual sources of supply and we started making things in India.

I will give you just one or two instances of industrial development. Iron and steel, of course, is our biggest manufacturing industry. That has made great progress and today we supply something like 75 per cent of our total requirements in iron and steel. Along with that have grown up a number of subsidiary industries, such as tinplate, wire and wire nails, and so on. That industry is in a very flourishing condition today and has excellent prospects.

Cotton textiles is another industry that has made rapid strides in the last fifty years. Of course that is our traditional industry. We have woven cottons of the finest quality, for thousands of years. Literally, we have. They have recently, I understand, dug up some cotton designs which go back two thousand years. Of course those were all woven on hand looms.

Another remarkable instance of very rapid development is the sugar industry. Ten years ago we imported practically every pound of refined sugar we consumed. Today, we are refining all the white sugar we require—about a million tons a year. That is all within the past ten years.

Cement is another industry that has made almost equally rapid progress. I could tell of several others—heavy chemicals, the soap industry, and so on, but time does not permit.

The point I would like to make about these industries and the policy of industrialization is that in the case of all of these industries we are very favourably situated in the matter of raw materials which are available in abundance and are conveniently situated. In the case of iron and steel, for instance, we have our iron ore fields and the coal fields almost next door to each other. In connection with the cotton industry we have a very large production of raw cotton and we have a tremendous market in the four hundred million people, whose traditional fabric of wear is cotton, on account of the climatic conditions. As I say, we are favourably situated, both in respect to raw materials and also in having a very large domestic market.

Another important point I would like to stress is that almost the entire programme of industrial development has been effected by indigenous capital. Now, that is a very remarkable change in Indian economic life. For our development in the past we have had to rely almost entirely on capital from outside. Today the position has been reached where one can truthfully say that the supply of capital exceeds almost the opportunity for its investment at anything but a very modest rate of interest. The fact is that any kind of sound industrial scheme can have all the financial backing that it needs.

There is very often a misconception in regard to Indian industrialization which I would like to take this opportunity of correcting. It is very natural that in a country which previously supplied manufactured goods to India that there should be a feeling that once those manufacturing industries have been developed in India the market in India would be lost. I myself believe, and I think the whole history of international commerce and trade is on my side, that it does not mean any contraction of India's imports in the long run. I believe on the other hand that as we develop our industries, as the standard of living of the people rises in consequence, as our purchasing power increases, our industrial development will be to the advantage and benefit, not only of India, but also of all the countries with whom we trade. (Applause) At any rate, the position in India today is this, that whereas not so very long ago there was a belief that India's future lay in the improvement of her agriculture, today the belief is wide-spread that the only possible future for the country economically is to strike a true balance between her agriculture and her manufacturing industries.

Now, Sir, a word about India's reaction to the present crisis. Before I say anything about that I would like to make it quite clear that I shall refrain from saying anything expressing any kind of political opinion. As a Civil Servant of the Crown, I have, of course, no politics, but I would like to give you a picture as it has been conveyed to me of the sentiment in India on the outbreak of this war. Of course many of you remember the part India played in the last war. (Applause) She gave generously not only of her men, but also of her material and her wealth and the Indian Army gave a good account of itself in France, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Palestine, East Africa, and elsewhere.

In connection with the Indian Army in France, I don't know whether you know of a little incident that occurred. Sine it was a little incident between the Canadian Army and the Indian Army I would like to repeat it to you. It was in 1915, and a Canadian Battalion was marching back from the front lines after a fortnight in the trenches. It was in the winter time and they were covered with mud and everything that went with the trenches in winter, and they happened to be passing by the British G.H.Q. Just as this battalion was going past, one of our foremost Princes happened to be standing outside G.H.Q. He had come out for a little fresh air. I shan't name him but he was a very resplendent figure in his staff uniform, with his four or five lines of medals, and turban as well. One of the privates in the battalion broke out of the ranks and went up to this man. He looked at him a bit, rather puzzled, and then he said, "Excuse me, Sir, who are you?" The Prince answered, " I am the Maharajah of So-and-So." The private put out his hand and said, "Never mind. Put it there. It ain't your fault."

Well, Sir, as you know, India played an important part in the last war. In the present crisis her reactions have been no less certain and spontaneous. (Applause) Today the issues are even clearer than in 1914, and India, to a man, has responded to the first call that came. We are essentially a peace-loving people. We dislike violence of every kind and practically everyone in India has watched with disgust and growing anger the progressive steps that have been taken by different countries in, shall I call it, this international gangsterism. It began with Manchukuo and has continued with China, Abyssinia, Albania and Poland, and, as I say, people in India have watched with growing disgust the methods that have been employed in seizing hold, without any justification whatever, of these countries.

So far as my own people, the Sikhs, are concerned, we are a small community. Although I say it, I think they are fairly important in India, because we supply a very large percentage of the Indian Army. I think our attitude to the whole thing may be best put in a phrase that was recently used by an American friend of mine with whom I was playing golf the other day. He is a great big man, about six foot three, and being a boxer and a football player, he is a hefty fellow. His three sons threaten to be even bigger and stronger than he is. I had the pleasure of meeting his sons and we were having a chat. He said, "Well, I brought up my sons and I taught them this, as a principle in life: Never start a fight, never hit anyone who is smaller than you are, never stop hitting anyone who is bigger than you are."

Immediately on the outbreak of this war, irrespective of community, irrespective of political associations, caste, creed or colour, there was a unanimous condemnation of the way Germany behaved in bringing about this war and I think I can put that sentiment before you by giving you a couple of quotations from the statements that were made in India better than I could by describing it myself. I will give you first of all a quotation from a broadcast made by His Excellency, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, whose name I think will be remembered for many years in India for the statesmanship, the industry, and the sympathy that he has brought to bear on the very responsible duties he has to perform. This is what Lord Linlithgow said in that broadcast:

"What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity—principles of international justice, international morality, the principle that civilized man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity. Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. With me, I am certain you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us, victory, the triumph of right, will not be secured by arms alone. We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life are the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude.

"In a cause such as this the wholehearted sympathy and support of all in this great country will, I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of creed, of race, or of political party. I am confident on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilization of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution to the side of human freedom as against the rule of force and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and the historic civilizations of the world."

Those were the words of His Excellency, the Viceroy of India.

Then, I would like to give you a quotation from a very different source, a quotation from a speech made immediately after the outbreak of war by an Indian Minister in Charge of Law and Order, the Home Minister for the Bombay Government. The Bombay Government, as you remember, is a Provincial Government, and it is from the ranks of the Indian National Congress Party that that Government is constituted. Mr. Munshi, the Minister, whose quotation I will give you, is one of the prominent members of the Indian National Congress. This is what he said:

"Hitler's war is a war against small and helpless nationalities. It is a war of racial arrogance against humanity. It is a war of ruthless destruction carried on against civilized nations and international relations. It is violence carried to perfection, seeking to destroy peace. Above all, it is a war against the dignity of human personality. It is a war against non-violence, which we hold so sacred. It is an iniquitous attempt to uproot the sanctity of the moral law. This war will lead to the liberation of mankind as never before a war did. Somehow I feel that in this war India is going to play a great part. During the last war the British Empire died and the British Commonwealth of white nations was born. I somehow feel that out of this war will emerge a Commonwealth of free nations, irrespective of race or colour, guided by a government which knows no exploitation of man by man, or of race by race. For this end, let us humbly pray."

(Applause)

That gives you some idea, Sir, of the sentiment that prevailed at the outbreak of war. Mahatma Gandhi came out in no uncertain words with his sympathy for Great Britain and France, and what they stood for.

Under the present constitutional position, India was automatically at war the same time as the United Kingdom, but I venture to express the opinion that even if India had had the right to say for herself whether she would or would not go into this war, she would without any hesitation have gone into it. (Applause)

Now, Sir, I would like to conclude on a note that was sounded by our Chairman, and which lies very close to my heart—the part that India might possibly play in the construction of the future world. We are living in times, I think, of great bewilderment. On the one hand there has ben the most marvellous progress made in evry field of scientific discovery, and almost every week and every month new inventions, new discoveries come to us which a few years ago only would have been looked upon as miraculous. There are all the potentialities for every kind of happiness and contentment of the human race. But actually there is very little happiness or contentment and the future, the immediate future, holds out little hope of any such prospect. I don't wish you to misunderstand me. I don't claim for India any special position in this respect. I know too well the present backward state of my country. I have very little sympathy with those who, when that present backward state is pointed out to them, turn around and say, "Yes, but look at our great past". It is like the senile old man who, having lost all his powers and all his teeth, whenever anything that youth does is pointed out to him, says, "Yes, but in my day . . . " That kind of attitude I have no sympathy for. I believe that India must strive and strain along with the other nations and endeavour to play a proper part in modern activities, in industrial activity, but the point I wish to stress is this. We have had a great past. There was a time, I think, in India when a very fine balance was struck between material progress and spiritual development, and there is, even today, running through the life of the country, as an undercurrent, a small stream that sometimes is hardly perceptible, that feeling, that connection between the past and the present. The feeling is still there that that sense of true values, that sense of true balance between the spiritual things and the material things, that fine balance has been achieved in the past and it may be possible to do it again. Though it may seem ridiculous to say so, even today in India, some of the most successful men, materially, I believe have running through their systems that kind of subconscious feeling that all these good things of this world are illusions after all, that the real things are the things of the spirit, and I feel and I hope that India, with her past traditions and her great civilization, may be able to make some contribution to the welfare and happiness of humanity.

I would like to conclude, Sir, with another quotation, which comes from a book about India, written by an Englishman who lived there for many years and who obviously loved the country. I think he has put it very finely:

"Probably no country in the world will overtake India in human interest. And yet I am convinced that we of the West have gone far astray in estimating India's value to modern thought. In the realm of religious philosophy, she has done a great and precious thing. She has given to us the most searching examination of the ethical law the world is ever likely to have. No Greek was ever more splendid in his scientific fidelity, than the quiet company of India's thinkers who made the Upanishads and traced the whole beauteous outline of the Eastern spirit."

Then he goes on to say: "During the twelve odd years I have spent in the East I have never ceased to be enchanted , not only by her differences from the West, but also by a golden splendour in her spirit. India indeed has a preciousness which a materialistic age is in danger of missing. Some day the fragrance of her spirit will win the hearts of men. The future contains a new human urge toward the real beauty and holiness of life. When it comes, India will be searched by loving eyes, and defended by knightly hands." (Applause—prolonged)

Canon Woodcock: We have many distinguished people at the head table today. Among them, we have Mr. Harry Ashland, who served with Mr. Malik in the Royal Air Force, being in the same Squadron.

I have great pleasure in asking Mr. Humphrey, who is responsible, I think, for Mr. Malik's presence here today, to thank Mr. Malik on behalf of the Club.

Mr. Humphrey: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I think it would be presumptuous and perhaps indelicate to comment on this amazing speech of Mr. Malik's. I have watched your faces throughout his talk and could have wished that you had the same privilege and pleasure in meeting him, personally, as I had some months ago. One is struck with his tower of mental strength, and on the other hand with that marvellous twinkle in his eye.

I would like to remind you of the object of this Club, which as you all know, (I quote from the year-book) is the advancement of the interests of Canada and the United Empire. Nobody, I think, could have fulfilled the aims and objects of this Club to better advantage than has Mr. Malik today.

You, Sir, I am sure, have watched the faces of your audience and must have been impressed, as I have, with those unwritten words upon those faces. I am now going to express to you and say we do most sincerely thank you for your address. Thank you. (Applause)

"THE PART WE PLAY"

AN ADDRESS BY HON. IVA CAMPBELL FALLIS

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, November 9, 1939.

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: Before introducing our guest-speaker today I would like to extend to the ladies present a hearty welcome and tell them how pleased we are that they have come out in the numbers they have. We also appreciate having the Presidents of the various women's organizations of the City as guests at our head table today.

It is a privilege to have with us the Honourable Senator Iva Campbell Fallis, who is our guest-speaker today, and who has been active in political life since girlhood, and who enjoyed the distinction in Winnipeg, in 1927, of being the first woman speaker on the agenda of the National Conventions of either of the old parties. Mrs. Fallis' keen appreciation of women's place in the government of Canada won for her a Senatorship in 1935, a second woman to be thus honoured. She has taken an active part in encouraging and securing the loyal support of the women of Canada in the national welfare. Mrs. Fallis is the National Chairman of the Committee for the Voluntary Registration of Women for service to their country in time of emergency. It is a great honour to introduce today Senator Fallis, whose subject will be "The Part We Play". (Applause)

HON. IVA CAMPBELL FALLIS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am deeply appreciative of the honour which is mine today in being asked to address the members of this Empire Club of Canada. I count it a privilege as well, because it affords me an opportunity to pay a well merited tribute to the work of your Club, in that you have not needed a declaration of war to awaken a slumbering loyalty into action, but that throughout all the years of peace you have consistently worked with one object in view, and that object, the strengthening of the ties that bind us to the Old Land, and the fulfilling of your duties of Empire citizenship. May I say, too, that I count it a great honour that I, a mere woman, should be asked to speak in these sacred precincts of the male, or, perhaps the great majority of you are becoming more or less reconciled to the fact that no place is sacred from our invasion any more.

At the time of the granting of the franchise to the women of Canada, a prominent eastern newspaper carried an editorial in which they said, "Now that women have been granted the franchise the House of Commons might as well prepare to receive them as Members, but, fortunately, that is a problem which the Senate will never have to face." At that time we were still not persons, under the meaning of the Act, and therefore not eligible to a seat in the Senate. However, the man who wrote that editorial was apparently neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, because in due time the problem reached the Senate in the shape of my colleague, Senator Wilson, and five years later, myself.

Someone has said that any woman who attempts to combine home duties with a public career needs the skill of a tight-rope walker, the endurance of a marathon swimmer, the faith of a revolutionist and the fatalism of an explorer. I am not saying for a moment that my colleague or I possess these qualifications, but I can assure you that there are times when we feel the need of them all.

Women have always had an acknowledged place in our home and social life. They are a necessity there. They soon made themselves felt as a necessity in the educational life of our country. Gradually but still surely they are making themselves felt as a necessity in the professional and economic life of our country, but I must confess that in the realm of government, whether it be municipal, provincial or federal, we are not yet looked upon as a necessity. A few of us are there, and Alderman Plumptre will bear me out in this, I know, when I say that we are very well treated, but to date there has never been any indication on the part of the government that the country couldn't be run without us. However, while opinions may and do still vary as to whether this country is any better or worse because women have been granted greater freedom and more opportunities, one thing is certain and that is, that there has been an amazing change of attitude on the part of the general public during the last few decades, until today the common humanity of men and women has come to be looked upon as of more importance than sex distinction. Too, there has come a recognition of women as individuals, and with a recognition of that individuality has come a realization of the fact that as women and as individuals we have a right to have our vocation in life determined largely by our own ability and inclination, rather than determined for us solely by custom and environment, as was the case in the days of our grandmothers. But, in spite of all the changes that have come in the status of women down through these decades, in one very important matter, Canadian womanhood is still today the same as it was in the days of our grandmothers, for, from the days when the earliest women settlers of this country, with high resolve and courage undaunted, walked hand in hand with their men folk across the prairie or through the forest, blazing the trail, helping in the building of home and church and school, and the establishment of community life, down through the years until their descendents blazed the trail in this country for women in the educational, professional and political life of the country, the long line of loyal, fearless, patriotic Canadian women has not been broken. (Applause)

So, today, as Canadian women, we stand ready, as they stood in years gone by; ready to face the tasks which lie ahead; ready to make whatever sacrifices are necessary in order that we may do our share toward the preservation of that liberty and freedom which is ours today under the British system of democracy.

I was interested, as I am sure many of you were, in an article in a recent edition of *Saturday Night* by Walter Lippman, on relations between Canada and the United

States, and I was especially interested in the future which he envisioned for Canada. He traced the history of Canada briefly, first as a colonial outpost of Empire, then as a self-governing Dominion, then as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Then he said, "But the Canada of tomorrow will be an inner citadel, perhaps *the* inner citadel of the British world." Be that as it may, it is commonly agreed that today Canada faces a new era in the development of her young nationhood and I am sure we in this room are agreed that the most essential thing for us in facing this development and the building of a greater nationhood is to do our share toward seeing that the foundations upon which that larger nationhood is built shall be our traditions and our British heritage. That, perhaps, isn't as easy as it sounds, because today, as you all know, we have foes within our land, as well as enemies without. I think if, as Canadians, we have a national fault it is perhaps that we are not sufficiently aware of the value of our traditions. Our patriotism is still instinctive, rather than learned. We need to become more alive to the value of tradition and continuity in the development of a nation and in this the study of Canada as a realized historical unit with Great Britain is extremely interesting and more than that, extremely helpful, because, after all, roots *do* encourage growth and *roots* are Canada's birthright.

I realize as fully as you do that this is no time for jingoism. It is no time for excessive flag waving, but it *is* a time for a deep and full realization of the value of the world of the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause) I believe with all the depth of my being that the world needs the British Empire, that it needs its influence in world affairs and if by any mischance that influence be destroyed or that Empire be relegated to a second-rate power, whose voice would no longer be influential in world affairs, then the loss will be as great to the world at large as it will be to the component parts of that Empire.

Holding these views as I do, very strongly and very sincerely, it was perhaps not unnatural that I should accept the position of National Chairman of the Committee for Voluntary Registration of Canadian women for emergency service. When I was first asked to speak to this Club, some time ago, it was intimated that I might use that as my subject, so I am going to include it in these few remarks, and sketch very briefly for you what I consider the high points of that movement. I have two reasons for doing this. In the first place, I conceive that the members of the Empire Club are kindred spirits, that they are in sympathy with the work that we are attempting to do, and, in the second place, the registration for Toronto is not yet closed and you might be influential in seeing that some who have not contributed to this movement by registering their qualifications, may do so in the future.

First, may I say we are not an organization, but a Committee formed of representatives from existing women's organizations; a Committee formed to do a specific job. When that job is done we are at liberty to disband again. The reason for the formation, in the first place, was that many of us had been reading for so long what the British women had been doing in the nature of voluntary organization, to be at the service of their country in days of emergency, that we felt we might well follow their example. A Provisional Committee was formed of the few who were most interested and they laid the foundation for the formation of the National Committee. The ground work was laid in this way: Every women's organization in Canada which was national in scope was invited to send its President or a representative to a meeting in the Royal York Hotel in Toronto last May. Sixty organizations, national in scope, were represented, the great majority of whom were in favour of the work which we are doing. From that a National Committee was formed. The next step was the formation of a Provincial Committee which has taken place in many of the Provinces, not in all as yet. That is not completed. From that, the district Chairmen who are in charge of local organizations throughout the Province. The information is to be collected at registration booths opened in every town and city throughout the country. Because this National Committee was, in essence, a working committee we have only two Honorary Chairmen and these two represent the two largest women's organizations in the

Dominion of Canada—the National Council of Women for the towns and cities, and the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada for the rural parts. Those two Presidents are the two Honorary Chairmen of our Committee.

When you go in to register in one of these booths you are presented with a questionnaire which you look over and the information is taken by those in charge. The object of taking that information is simply this;—We, as a Committee, and the women who came in with the same motives and are backing us in our work, have felt that the foundation for this work is a distinction which should be made between a woman *willing* to do a job and being *capable* of doing it. So, through this questionnaire we are making a survey of the qualifications of the women who are interested enough to volunteer for service to their country. They state the training they have had along special lines; the experience they have had; whether they are prepared to give the use of that training and experience to their country in case of emergency; and whether they can serve full time or part time, with or without remuneration.

The questionnaire is the work of experts. It wasn't hastily thrown together on a hot summer afternoon by a few women, but the questions after being framed were submitted to financial experts, military experts, industrial experts, and the questionnaire was drafted and redrafted at least twenty times before being finally submitted to the women of this country. The information so collected will be available to any organization, such as the Red Cross or any other authentic body doing war service in this country.

One of the most common questions, one of the most frequently asked us is, "What becomes of this information after it is collected?" Well, it is filed in duplicate. Each Province has a record of the statistics for their province. It is filed at the national headquarters in Toronto of the Volunteer Registration of Canadian Women, and a duplicate copy is filed in Ottawa, under Dr. Coleman, Under Secretary of State.

The names of those who answer questions merely of a local nature, such as sewing and knitting, etcetera, are handed to the Red Cross to be used by them, but lists of skilled munitions workers, textile workers, women who had experience in various fields during the last war, all these things which may be so valuable to the government in the present war, will be indexed and filed at Ottawa under the direction of Dr. Coleman.

There is one question upon that questionnaire which has received a great deal of attention and interest from a great many of our women and many questions are asked concerning it. That is the one which asks whether you are willing to take into your home, British or other refugee children, if such should be desired. Now, I appreciate fully, as you do, that this question of admitting refugees on a large scale and taking care of them in this country is a matter which is to be determined by the British and Canadian Governments, but, in turn, I think we all realize that their decision on this matter may be influenced by events which are to come, and so we have included that in our survey; and just as a matter of interest, may I say to you that in the little town of Cobourg—I mention Cobourg because it was my home before I was married—in that little town of about 5,000 population, already 150 homes have been offered as available, if needed, to accommodate children or adults from England.

The women who are behind this movement, the women who are on the Committee, who have spent their time and strength during these last few months are actuated by one desire only, and that is to serve their country. We feel that the women of Canada today have a part, and a very important part, to play in the carrying on of this war to a successful conclusion. We feel that we should be ready for any eventuality or any emergency, just as they are ready in England, but the great difficulty, as I see it, and as many others have found, is to bring home to the people of this country a realization of the possibilities of the future of this war. When you talk to them about needing certain things to be done in case of emergency, the same people who said to us last May, when we first launched this organization, "Oh, you are wasting time and strength and energy, because there isn't going to be a war", are saying now, "Why prepare for something that will not come? The war is remote from us, we will never be faced with an emergency here, such as they are facing in England." I think there are a great many today who will agree that the greatest foe we have to face in Canada today is a lack of realization on the part of the great majority of Canadians that this is Canada's war. Everybody is willing to help, but help in what way? Help *England* and *France* to win the war. "We think they are right, we want to help them", but there is no realization that it is *Canada's* war, (Applause) that, putting it on the highest plane, we are just as interested and just as concerned in the preservation of liberty and freedom as are Britain and France. Putting it on the lowest plane, we are interested in self-preservation, and that is something we are very slow in realizing. We talk about Poland, we talk of the tremendous courage of the Polish soldiers in facing such odds. Our hearts are wrung when we visualize those long lines of women and children, refugees staggering forth from Warsaw and other cities of Poland to safety, with terror and death raining from the skies upon them, and we pity them and we feel sorry for them and we weep over their tragic fate. We think of a crushed and trampled Poland, but how many of us are realistic enough to come to grips with it and to say, "But for the grace of God and the British Fleet, there lies Canada"? I think that is the lesson that we need to have driven home today, a realization that this is *our* war, that it is not enough for us to have within our hearts a great love for and a deep abiding faith in this land in which we live. In addition to that we must be as ready to give of our time and energy, of ourselves, if necessary, as ready as we have always been to grasp with eager outstretched hands all the advantages and privileges of liberty and freedom that are ours today because of the sacrifices made by those who have gone before.

Only when we are in that mood, only when we have so readjusted our thinking and our living shall we be worthy of the sacrifices of those who have gone before. Only then can we say with the poet:

Lord, take us up to the heights
And show us the glory,
Show us a vision of Empire,
Tell us its story.
Tell it out loud,
For eyes and ears have grown holden,
We have forgotten
That any but money is golden.
Grubbing away in the valley,
Somehow has darkened our eyes,
Watching the ground and the crops,
We have forgotten the skies.
Lord, if Thou wilt Thou canst take us today
To the mount of decision,
And show us this land that we live in,
With glorified vision.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen, an old friend and associate of our guest-speaker, Alderman Adelaide Plumptre, has graciously consented to extend on your behalf our thanks to Senator Fallis.

ALDERMAN ADELAIDE PLUMPTRE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would like to express on behalf of your guests our gratitude to the Club for including us in your meeting today, because we feel that you have given us a great opportunity of listening to one whose words of wisdom and whose words of quiet confidence are needed at the present moment, perhaps as not often before in the history of Canada. Senator Fallis comes to us with a long tradition of Canadian life behind her. She brings to us the traditions of that great family of women who have centered their interest around the productive things of life, from the farm, and in the home, and she has now applied the wisdom that she learned there to the science and the art of politics. It is a great thing that she is here today to prove in her person that women are persons and, I might also add, that they are personable, also.

We feel that what has been said to us today has not only emphasized the power of woman and the value of women's power in war times as in peace times, but it has also shown us the value of order and regulated effort in such emergencies as this, when some people feel that the great thing is to get going and it doesn't matter much what you do, so long as you do something. I think Senator Fallis' account of the registration of women has given us this lesson, that it is the ordered and regulated force which is really valuable in emergency, as in routine life.

It is a very great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, you have given us today to invite us to be present, and I am quite certain I express the thoughts of all those who are present, both your guests and your members, when I extend to Senator Fallis our very grateful thanks for her words of encouragement, of thought and of vision. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Alderman Plumptre. We appreciate very much your extending the thanks of this Club to Senator Fallis. I also wish to express our appreciation of the distinguished guests at our head table and to thank them for coming as they have on this occasion.

Our meeting is adjourned.

"GUARDING OUR HERITAGE"

AN ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT H. J. CODY, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, November 16, 1939

PRESIDENT: It is a great honour and a privilege to introduce to you today our guest-speaker, Dr. Cody. Although it was after my time that he was President of the greatest University in Canada, I still think he is one of the greatest Presidents of that University. Dr. Cody has held so many prominent and responsible positions in public, university and clerical life, and received so many honours for the great service he has rendered that it is difficult for one to generalize on his outstanding career. He has had a long life devoted to the interests of humanity and the intellectual and spiritual advancement of man. He has taken a prominent part, not only in those phases of our community and social life, but he has also taken a prominent part in our political life in assisting in the government of Ontario, as a Minister of Education, in the furtherance of educational matters which have been of primary importance so far as Ontario is concerned. Dr. Cody is so well known to the citizens of Canada that it would be presumptuous on my part to take up your time in a detailed account of the excellent work he has done and the numerous honours he has received. As an illustration of his usual intense application to the subject at hand, it is interesting to note that during his four years as an undergraduate of the University, he received first class honours in all of the nineteen subjects during those four years, and was first in the class on fifteen occasions. As to Dr. Cody's honorary degrees, I shall not give them to you in detail, but he has honorary degrees from all the universities in Ontario, also Manitoba and Glasgow.

Dr. Cody has again taken up the burdens of war work and is actively furthering the interests of democracy with his usual energy. With all his other responsibilities he has kindly consented to honour us today. The title of his address is "Guarding our Heritage", and I have much pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Cody. (Applause)

PRESIDENT H. J. CODY, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L.: Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club: I have just a few hours ago returned from a Conference of the State Universities of the United States, held in the City of Washington, and two weeks ago, from the Conference of the Southern Universities in the United States, both of state and of private foundations. Nothing could have been more heartening than the welcome given to a Canadian by these, my fellow-executives of universities. What heartened me more than anything, however, was to know that these representatives of public opinion in the United States were one hundred per cent in sympathy with the Allies in the great world struggle. (Applause)

The subject of discussion at the conference of State Universities had been, in the first phrasing of it, "The University in Time of War". Thinking that this might be too definite a statement for a neutral nation, the committee modified it to "The University in Critical Times", but all the discussions were on the general theme of what a university could do for a cause and a country, should hostilities break out. Some of those warm-hearted Southerners would take me by the hand afterward and say, "We are a hundred per cent with you in sympathy and we may be in it soon". That, however, is a matter for the United States to decide for itself. I hope that no Canadian will make critical, unkind or disparaging remarks upon the public policy of the United States. They are our best friends and are supporting us in thought and action, as far as a neutral nation can. In these days it may be that the neutrals of the world will exercise almost a decisive influence on behalf of a peace based on victory and righteousness.

The subject on which I would gladly speak to you today is "Guarding our Heritage". I wish to speak of it under three heads: First, we have a heritage to guard; secondly, that heritage has been attacked; thirdly, it is our duty to defend it. Those are three very obvious but very fundamental propositions.

First of all, we have a great inheritance, not only as members of this far-flung Dominion, but as members of that larger political entity to which this Dominion of Canada belongs, commonly and historically called, the British Empire—a term which I think is even wider in its connotation than the term, British Commonwealth of Nations, which, strictly speaking, is limited to the self-governing Dominions. So I make no apology for using the older and broader term, the British Empire.

Now, Gentlemen, the British Empire is at once a unique political institution, a marvellous treasury of material wealth, a group of very diverse human elements, and the embodiment of certain great ideals. It has a marvellous achievement to its credit and it still has promise for the future. It is not a dying, much less a dead institution. Long ago, in the days of the Crimean War, Ralph Waldo Emerson, visiting England, wrote of her that "she sees better in a dark day". That acute observation is as true today as ever it was.

In the days of the Great War, I think it was in the month of October, Dr. Herbert Bruce and I were driving along in the neighbourhood of the City of Amiens and we came to a little stream, called the Noyelles. There was a bridge over it, so the little hamlet was called Pont de Noyelles—the Bridge of Noyelles. Beside the little stream there was a white-washed French farm. French farm buildings are arranged around a quadrangle, the manure heap in the centre of the quadrangle and the barns and stables round about. Some Tommy, in the dark days when General Haig said that our "backs were to the wall", had evidently pinched a pot of red paint and had expressed his sentiments by an inscription on the external wall of this farm house. We both stopped to read it again and again. for these were the words written in a dark day and expressing the fundamental sentiments of the British Tommy:

"Pessimists will be shot on sight." Let me repeat Emerson's remark: "The Old Land sees more clearly in a dark day."

First of all, the British Empire which is our heritage is a unique political institution. It comprises a loosely knit group of governments. It expresses the widest kind of diversity, yet it has an underlying unity. There is no common treasury, no common language, no common religion, no common currency, no common weights and measures. You could not conceive of a greater variety in an underlying unity. German constitutional historians before the last Great War were greatly puzzled about the classification of the British Empire. It didn't fit into any existing group of constitutions. No, it is unique, a unique political organization.

The second point about this heritage of ours is that it is of comparatively modern growth. We scarcely realize that, Gentlemen. Three hundred years old. It was not until the War of the Roses had been fought, the struggle of the Reformation completed, the particularism of the Guilds of the Middle Ages broadened out into the idea of "the realm of this Commonwealth", it wasn't until the end of the reign of Elizabeth, that Britain was ready to play her part in colonizing and in unifying the world. So she built up three successive Empires. The characteristic mark of the first British Empire was founding of colonies, to be exploited for the benefit of the merchants at home. One result of that policy was the severance between the thirteen American colonies and the Motherland. The lesson was learned. The second British Empire was marked by the characteristic of *laissez faire*. The Motherland was rather indifferent, if not sometimes positively cool to the outlying parts of the Empire. That gave to those outlying parts the challenge to stand on their own feet, to develop their own government. After all, they did not prove at the end of the day to be ripe fruit that would fall off when the tree was shaken or a mill-stone around the neck of the Motherland. They passed into a third stage of British Empire development—the stage of an alliance of free peoples. Those are, broadly speaking, the three stages of the development of the British Empire—colonies to be exploited, overseas possessions to be neglected, and an alliance of free nations, whose bonds cannot be broken. The Empire is young—ten generations old—no more. William Watson expressed it well. The Motherland speaks to her children overseas:

"Young is she yet,
Her world task scarce begun;
By you we know her safe
And know by you
Her veins are million,
But her heart is one.

That is the second point at which to look—the comparative youth of the British Empire.

The third point to which I would ask your attention in describing the heritage is a consideration of the forces which operating together have created the British Empire. Three forces above all others have been at work—the process of *discovery;* the process of *trade;* and the process of *settlement.*

May I analyze those a little further? There is the sea-going enterprise of our forebears in the Motherland. No part of the Motherland is very far away from the smell of the sea. The sea, unlike the sea in the days of the Latin and Greek classic poets, was not a barrier but a link, an invitation to all venturous spirits to go to the uttermost parts of the earth. You remember the title of the Hudson's Bay Company—"The Governor and Company of the *Adventurers of England,* Trading into the Hudson's Bay". What a fine phrase! In that phrase you have one factor in the origin of the British Empire—the adventurers of England, of Scotland, of Wales, of Ireland, adventurers trading into the seven seas. The sea-going enterprise of our ancestors that led Drake around the whole world is the first great factor and force in the creation of the British Empire.

A second was the desire for gain, the element of trade. We are and always have been a nation of shopkeepers, of traders. What more noble occupation is there than to engage in that form of enterprise whereby both the seller and the buyer are benefited? True trade benefits all parties concerned. Where it does not, then there is something radically wrong in the arrangements. Linked up with that desire to trade and gain there was in earlier days the defence of civil and religious liberty. It was a wonderful thing in the days of Elizabeth for a sailor to be able to combine discovery and gain with the maintenance of religious and political freedom. When he captured a Spanish galleon coming back from the New World, he felt that at once he was defending the freedom, political and religious, of the Motherland, making great gain for himself and a little for the Queen, and was indulging in the exercise of his adventurous spirit.

Another factor has been philanthropy. That is very often forgotten in connection with the development of the Empire. There are certain parts of the Empire that are the immediate outcome of philanthropy; Lagos, and the district round about, practically the whole district of Nigeria, in Africa, as well as the older district of Sierra Leone. Those were the direct results of philanthropic and missionary effort. Many parts of Africa have been first explored by missionaries and the missionary has appealed to the protection of the flag, in order that the "open sore of the world", as Livingstone called it, the slave trade, might be checked. If you take the religious factor out of the history of our people you have a very dry skeleton left.

Then a further factor came into action—settlement, migration. Hard times in the Motherland thrust people, in order to improve their material conditions, across the seas. We are all familiar with that element in Canada. The United Empire Loyalists had to come from the South. From the Motherland into almost every province of Canada there has come a stream, large or small, of migration. This has been a force of infinite importance in the growth of the British Empire.

Two further factors are not always recognized. First there is the necessity of branching out, developing abroad in order to keep the Motherland independent. That led to the beginning of British rule in India. It was the East India Company which began, for trading purposes, the long history of the British connection with India. It is really true, Gentlemen, that if the Empire has won these dependencies, these dependencies have had no small share in keeping the centre of the Empire free and independent. These were issues involved in the winning of Canada and the Indian Empire.

Then there is another factor. A great organization like this gets under way and almost of necessity is compelled to take one step after another. That explains the full issue of events in India, in the Malay Peninsula, in The Transvaal, in Egypt until its independence was fully and graciously conceded.

If you add together those different factors, and especially the factors of discovery, trade and settlement, you will at once see what the result would be. Strangely enough, no individual or group ever planned this issue. It seemed to come of itself. The British Empire is perhaps the supreme example in the world of an unexpected result of comparative haphazard effort. Someone has well said, "in a fit of absent-mindedness the Empire was created". We certainly did seem to "stumble on" some of the best parts of the world. This, then, is the story of how the material side of our heritage came into being.

What are the political elements in that heritage? One is the fostering of a free democracy throughout its constituent parts. Is there any incongruity between the idea of an Empire and the idea of Democracy? Sometimes there has been in the history of empires in the past a real incongruity. But what I would venture to say is that the term "Empire", like many another term in our language, whatever its original derivation may be, (and Empire is from the Latin word "imperium") has been used in a sense peculiar to ourselves. A Saxon King, Edgar, before the year 1000, in the days when the Holy Roman Empire was in its infancy on the continent of Europe, made the claim that his little kingdom in the small island of Britain was an "Empire". Now, what did he mean? Did he mean that a Saxon Kingdom was claiming any domination over any part of the mainland of Europe? Not for a moment. It was his way of declaring that the Holy Roman Empire on the Continent had no jurisdiction or rights over his kingdom. The term "Empire" connoted the idea of independence, of freedom. In the days of Henry the Eighth, when he was engaged in the struggle with the ecclesiastical powers on the Continent in the famous Act of 1534 there is a preamble, containing words of this kind: "Seeing that according to diverse ancient chroniclers and historians, this realm of England hath always been an Empire". What did he mean? Was he making a direct claim to rule over parts of Europe? Not seriously. The "field of the cloth of gold" really had no such significance. Henry was claiming that no continental power, political or religious, had dominion over the land of which he was King. He used the term "Empire" in the distinctly English sense of independence of outside dominion. Blackstone's "Commentary on the Laws of England" contains the distinct statement that when we use the term "Empire" we do not mean tyranny or claim to exploit or dominate anyone else, but we do claim independence from Powers outside, and freedom within. Thus the term "Empire", in its strictly British use stands for freedom within, good will without; self-determination within, resistance to any tryranny from without. There can, therefore, in the proper English sense of the term "Empire" be no incongruity between the term "Empire", and the term "Democracy". A very ancient and honourable term is the "British Empire"; let no one be afraid to use it because it seems to have a flavour of tyranny, domination, or crushing another. Its great achievement (to come back to what I said a moment ago) is that it has fostered throughout its constituent parts, a free democracy. It is continuing that education at the present time and is training the backward nations within its political sphere. Another of its great achievements has been its success in combining the maximum of local autonomy with an underlying sense of unity. Perhaps that, more than anything else, is what marks the character of the British Empire. I well remember, over thirty years ago, when I sat as a member of a Royal Commission on the University of Toronto in Mr. Goldwyn Smith's dining-room, that he was of the opinion that if ever there broke out a European War, the British Empire would go to pieces. He believed that this was the lesson of history and that if there came a smashing blow to the Motherland, never would one soldier from Canada cross the Atlantic Ocean. That was just an illustration, that wise men may make unwise prophecies. As a matter of fact, in proportion as local self-government has been granted throughout the Empire, there has been an increasing unity and a strengthening of the ties that bind all together.

But, Gentlemen, the most important thing of all is that the British Empire represents and embodies certain great ideals. They are the most precious part of our inheritance. First, there is the element of high tolerance—tolerance of language, race and creed, tolerance of variety of cultures, and yet a co-operation among these varieties. This tolerance has always begotten in the long run an answering loyalty.

The second of these ideals is regard for law and order, and for justice. Some time ago I read a report of a trial in the Police Court, in which a foreigner made his plea to the magistrate in these terms: "All I ask for is *British justice.*" This has become a proverb throughout the world. How is it today, Gentlemen, that India has anything approaching a national consciousness? How is it that Moslem and Hindu are not always at each other's throats? How is it that there are no famines and epidemics in the land? It is because of British justice applied to that great continent. Britain has made it possible that there should be a national consciousness in India that asks for recognition, and complains if that recognition be not speedily given. Some of you have visited Egypt within recent years. You have read of the Egypt of fifty or sixty years ago, of serfs on the banks of the Nile, naked and mud-stained, and impoverished beyond imagination. Today, they are "clothed and in their right mind", and Egypt is one of the most prosperous cotton-growing countries in the world. What did it? What was the magic that transformed the whole situation? British justice, under a High Commissioner, Lord Cromer. Egypt has now entered into a full measure of independence, because of the application of British justice to her problems. Yes, British justice is a proverb. During the last war I was invited to go to Pittsburgh. It was before the United States had come into the war and there were a great many British folk there, supervising contracts. There was a gathering on the 24th of May, and I was invited to come from Canada as one of the speakers. The Chairman was a Mr. Childers, the British Consul in Pittsburgh. His father had been a member of one of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinets. Mr. Childers told the story that one day a farmer from Cumberland County came into his office and said that some people were trying to deprive him of his farm; he didn't know what steps to take, but his father was an Englishman by birth and had always told him that British justice gave fair play to all parties. So he came in to Mr. Childers, as the British Consul, to see if he couldn't get justice in a foreign country!

A third ideal is trustworthiness, honour. Some of you have seen Westminster Abbey the tomb of Edward the First, a roughly finished stone tomb. "Pass it not by for its simplicity; few tombs hold nobler dust"—for he is the father of parliamentary government. On the tomb are the words, "*Serva pactum*"—"Keep your pledge". The "scrap of paper" doctrine finds no place in English statesmanship. One of the most appalling crimes that Herr Hitler has committed, in the eyes of Britons, is that you can't believe his word. Belief in the sacredness of the pledge, trustworthiness, is part of the British ideal of Empire.

Then there is that talismanic word, freedom. It is embodied in statute after statute, and decision after decision in the Old World, and in this. The Bill of Rights is an integral part of the Constitution of the United States. I think that is one reason why the people of the United States are, speaking roughly, ninety per cent on the side of the Allies. They know that their Bill of Rights enshrines the very fundamental issue for which we are fighting today, —freedom.

There is still another ideal to be mentioned. The most important thing about a man is his character, his recognition of the supremacy of duty. MacNeill Dixon, a former Professor in Glasgow University, gave a series of lectures on the Harmworth Foundation a few years ago, entitled

"The English People". Two points above other he emphasises—the English reverence for the idea of a gentleman and for the idea of duty. There are some things that a decent man cannot do and will not do; and there is a supreme demand that comes ultimately from God and to which man must respond.

Now, Gentlemen, I have taken most of my time in giving an anaylsis of what you know, viz. what our inheritance is. Have we not entered into a glorious inheritance? Is it worth while to be a part of the Briitsh Empire? Is it worth while to stand fast for these spiritual values, without which life isn't worth living? We are not fighting simply for democracy as a form of government. It has many defects. We are fighting for those spiritual values upon which a sane democracy can be built. We are not fighting for territory, and we are not fighting for material gain, but, as Sir Edward Beatty said to me the other day, when sitting beside him at luncheon, "This is a crusade, and more and more will it be seen to be a crusade". We are fighting for the spiritual values that happily for us, in spite of all our mistakes, are enshrined in this strange entity known as the Brtish Empire. George Macaulay Trevelyan, perhaps the greatest of living historians, has just issued a new edition of his "History of Britain", and in his preface he uses these words: "In spite of our country's errors the world's best hopes still rest on her". That is our belief.

Now, this great inheritance is attacked and challenged. We know it. No one needs to demonstrate it. Everything we hold most sacred is at stake today. As Mr. Chamberlain well said, we are fighting against evil things, brute force, bad faith, injustice, tyranny and persecution. These evil things grow out of certain long dominant evil principles,—the principle of a totalitarian state that stands in the place of God, and demands supreme and absolute loyalty, no matter whether its demands are moral or immoral; and the principle that the Germans are a superior race, a principle based on soil and race and blood. But this belief in the purity and superiority of race has led to the most cruel and ruthless of persecutions in our own day. All we hold dear today is challenged.

The answer is what? Canada has determined to share in answering that challenge of force by force. There is, under the circumstances, no other way.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Chairman of the Federation of Free Churches in Britain, issued a magnificent statement, naturally regretting that there should be this compulsion to meet force by force, and yet facing the issue. They say: "At all costs for the sake of the world's peace and order the policy proclaimed by the German Fuehrer must be resisted and overcome. It is based on force. It must be met by counter-force. But there is no other way—would God there were! The only effect of any appeal of non-resistance upon Herr Hitler would have been to encourage him to pursue his way with more ruthless determination." Gentlemen, so far as I can interpret the teaching of the New Testament in its broadest sense, I cannot believe that it is not a Christian duty to resist dominating, cruel, over-mastering wrong. The fundamental principle of Christian love requires it.

I want to read to you, in lighter vein, this letter from John Maynard Keynes, the famous economist of Cambridge. Mr. George Bernard Shaw—Mr. Shaw!—made some extraordinary statements in "The New Statesman and Nation", in the issue of October 7th. Mr. Keynes replies in these words a week later, the 14th of October, 1939: "Sir: The intelligentia of the left were the loudest in demanding that the Nazi aggression should be resisted at all costs. When it comes to a showdown, scarce four weeks have passed before they remember that they are pacifists and they write defeatist letters to your columns, leaving the defence of freedom and of civilization to Colonel Blimp (the old-fashioned, blood and thunder, retired Colonel) and the old school tie (representing the old public schools of England), for whom—'Three Cheers!'."

I believe that it is our duty, with a clear conscience, with a keen memory of Hitler's broken faith in the past and Germany's unjustified aggression in the last sixty years, to make the resolution we have made and to drive the full weight of what Canada can do or be or give to winning this struggle, along with "Colonel Blimp, and the old school tie", for the defence of mercy, justice, freedom, truth, and decent human civilization.

I leave with you these words of William Wordsworth, all too frequently forgotten, in which after the French Revolution he regained his balance and confessed his faith in the old Motherland:

> Now, when I think of thee and what thou art,
> Verily, in the bottom of my heart,
> Of those unfilial fears I am ashamed,
> For dearly must we prize thee,
> We who find in thee a bulwark
> For the cause of man.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me at this time to ask Mr. Sommerville, who has actively taken part in the affairs of the Empire Club for over thirty-five years, to extend on behalf of the Club, our thanks and appreciation to Dr. Cody. We also have with us today Mr. Richard Stapells, who was associated with him thirty-five years ago as a founder of the Empire Club. We are very pleased to have these gentlemen here and I will ask Mr. Norman Sommerville to extend our thanks.

MR. NORMAN SOMMERVILLE, K.C.: Mr. President and Gentlemen: At this hour, just a moment, to express to Dr. Cody the appreciation of the Empire Club for this very splendid address. No organization is indebted to him to a greater extent for his constant service to us. Those intellectual qualities to which the Chairman has referred have not been confined to the cloister walls, but have been shared with the people of this land most generously. Those spiritual qualities which he espoused in youth and which developed so splendidly under the benign influence of St. Paul's have been marked by that breadth and depth and courage that seems to be typical of the building itself, and these qualities of heart and of head have always been placed at the service of the people, and if there is a British oak in Canada today, that British oak, scion of the old stock, is Dr. Cody himself.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. Sommerville. I extend to you, Dr. Cody, on behalf of the Empire Club, our thanks and appreciation, so ably expressed by Mr. Sommerville.

(Applause)

"THE ROAD TO VICTORY"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, K.C., M.P.P.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, November 23, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen: We are most fortunate in having with us today as our guest-speaker, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Drew, a native son, and a distinguished citizen. Colonel Drew, in October 1935, addressed this Club, and the subject of his address had a prophetic import when he spoke on "Germany Prepares for Conquest".

I became acquainted with Colonel Drew seventeen years ago when he was an active member of the City Council of Guelph, from 1922 to 1924, and when he was honoured by being elected Mayor of that city in 1925. When I say "active", I mean it in every respect, from my experience. Shortly afterward he came to Toronto to enter larger fields of service.

Colonel Drew's excellent military career throughout the last war and since, in command of the Artillery Brigade of Guelph, is well known to the citizens of Canada. This, along with his keen interest in all matters of public affairs has led him to choose a life of public service.

Colonel Drew has also distinguished himself in the journalistic field and on many occasions has championed the interests of the public. He has written a number of interesting books on Canada's part in the Great War, and he has been a contributor to various Canadian publications of timely, searching articles. He has been a real crusader in this respect. I have, therefore, much pleasure in introducing to you today, Colonel Drew, whose subject will be "The Road to Victory". (Applause)

Lieut.-Colonel George A. Drew, K.C., M.P.P.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When I last spoke to the Empire Club, in spite of the fact that there was a terrifying threat of war, I believe that we all hoped then that the madness which had been growing in Europe could be restrained. In that short time all the forces of destruction which had been piling up have been let loose and now we face an issue which, in its implications, is far greater and goes far deeper than any mere question of winning on the field of battle. Today, I am not going to talk about the way in which the war may be won by the impact of armies or of navies or of air forces. I am going to talk about another aspect of the victory toward which we must now look.

It may seem very easy to talk of victory when we in Canada have scarcely started to fight. I believe, however, that we should talk of victory and that we should at the very outset try to understand the nature of the victory that we hope to win. If this is a war of ideas, as we have been told and as I think we believe, then we must get our ideas clear and remember why we are fighting and what it is we hope to accomplish. Only in that way can we chart a safe course on the journey that we have now undertaken.

I think the first thing that we must get clear in our minds is that we are not seeking a victory of domination. we should have before us no visions of triumphal arches and banners flying in the land of a conquered enemy. The victory to which our minds should be directed is the victory of common sense and reason over the evil forces which Hitler has turned loose upon the world. The victory is not to be won by arms alone, but by courageous thinking and a clear vision of that international understanding which offers the only hope of lasting peace. Mr. Chamberlain put it in these words in the House of Commons on October 12th: "We are not aiming only at victory, but rather looking beyond it to the laying of a foundation of a better international system, which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation." Two days earlier, Monsieur Daladier had condensed the same thought into these words: "We want our victory to create only a Europe freed from all threat of aggression."

In simple terms, that appears to be the victory that all thinking people do wish to achieve. It is a peace which will last, not merely an armistice. Mr. Chamberlain went further, and he said: "The peace which we are determined to secure must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and repeated threats. What stands in the way of such a peace? It is the German Government and the German Government alone." Those were the words of Mr. Chamberlain. "It is the German Government, and the German Government alone, for it is they by repeated acts of aggression who have robbed all Europe of tranquillity and implanted in the hearts of all their neighbours an ever-present sense of insecurity and fear."

Now, Gentlemen, from the very beginning, Mr. Chamberlain and Monsieur Daladier have made it clear that in their opinion it is not the German people as individuals with whom we are at war, but rather with an evil system whose destruction will be as much a victory for the German people as for ourselves. On September 1st, Mr. Chamberlain said in the House of Commons: "We have no quarrel with the German people, except that they allowed themselves to be governed by a Nazi Government." Then, on September 4th, in a broadcast direct to the German people, he said this: "In this war we are not fighting against you, the German people, for whom we have no bitter feeling, but against a tyrannous and foresworn régime which has betrayed not only its own people, but the whole of western civilization and all that you and we hold dear."

Monsieur Daladier echoed this sentiment as have the Prime Mnisters of Canada and the other British Dominions. But there are other opinions, and those opinions cannot be ignored. There are those who say in the utmost sincerity that what has launched this new war upon the world is the mad dream of conquest which has been bred in the German people for more than a century. They argue that there is some innate brutality in the German mind which has found its most recent expression in the torpedoing of the Athenia, the bombing of open cities and the callous disregard of international law and human decency shown in the last few days as they have placed mines in the paths of neutral ships.

Now, Gentlemen, these arguments do seem sound. It does seem reasonably arguable that this unmerciful type of warfare, so similar to that waged by the Germans during the last war, is a national characteristic, and not something for which Hitler and his associates can be alone blamed. There are many who disagree with Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier when they say we are not fighting against the German people. They argue, and there are very many who do, that we must destroy this spirit in the German people, and that we must fight this war to the bitter end, so that this doctrine of force, bred into the German people, may be driven out of them forever.

Gentlemen, that argument cannot be ignored. It has reached such proportions that it will not be disposed of by the simple statement that the heads of all the Allied Governments have expressed a contrary view and have made it clear that they do not believe we are fighting the German people—and let us still remember that it has never been suggested in democracies that the heads of governments were infallible. Those holding contrary opinions have a right to express them and, in view of the fact that they are being so extensively expressed, I suggest it is important that we try to come to some conclusion on this subject. If it is considered sufficiently important for those who speak officially for their nations to place such emphasis on the fact that we are fighting Hitler and Nazism rather than the German people, then it is equally important that we consider the wide-spread contention that this statement is not correct and that we are fighting the German people and must continue to do so until their ambitions of conquest have been cured by force of arms forever.

Now, one of the difficulties raised by much of the discussion of this subject has been an obvious tendency to over-simplification. It is, of course, obvious that it is the German people we are really fighting in the physical sense. Our armies will be engaged with millions of Germans, all of whom are armed, and all of whom will, for the present, fight. But it was perfectly clear when Mr. Chamberlain said we were not fighting the German people, he meant something more than that. His words make it clear that in his opinion we are not fighting Germans, merely because they are Germans, but that we are fighting the German soldiers, as representatives of the Nazi system, and when that vile system is destroyed we see no reason why we cannot make peace with the German people under some other form of government.

That was the position we took ourselves, right up to the time the war came. If our purpose is to destroy some evil spirit in the German people which has been there for a hundred years, then, Gentlemen, peace was impossible in any event, except by war. That I cannot believe. To accept that doctrine would mean that we must change the hearts and minds of eighty million people and impose our will upon them by force of arms. That was not the purpose for which we went into this war. Our purpose was to join in an attempt to restore freedom and international justice. If they are to be restored they must be restored for Germany as well as for ourselves.

I prefer to accept those words of Mr. Chamberlain as correctly defining the purpose we should keep in mind, "It is no part of our policy to exclude from her rightful place in Europe a Germany which will live in amity and confidence with other nations. On the contrary, we believe that no effective remedy can be found for the world's ills that does not take account of the just claims and needs of all countries, and whenever the time may come to draw the lines of a new peace settlement, His Majesty's Government would feel that the future would hold little hope unless such a settlement could be reached through the method of negotiation and agreement."

Now, those words, I think, are worth remembering. In them there is no suggestion of a dictated peace which will end for all time the German spirit of military aggression. In these words there is no thought that it is our duty to chastise the whole German nation. On the contrary, there is the simple conviction that if Hitler and what he stands for are destroyed the German people will be ready to join in an effort to preserve European civilization by friendly co-operation.

We are told from many quarters, and no one can question the sincerity of the opinions expressed, that history teaches the folly of placing any trust in German friendship, and that we should now finish the job we left unfinished in 1918, and beat Germany so decisively this time that they will not again have any belief in their own strength. I hold a contrary opinion. Quite apart from the fact that this seems to me to be an extremely dangerous undertaking I am convinced that history teaches us the very opposite.

This is not the first time there has been a sharp division of thought on this very subject. One hundred and twenty-four years ago, when Wellington and his Allies defeated Napoleon at Waterloo and were the masters of France, the debate on this very issue reached an intensity and bitterness not yet approached during the present war.

Because of what happened afterwards, and because I think it has so many valuable lessons for us today, I would like to recall some of the really remarkable parallels to the present situation which we can find from the records of those days. Long before the Battle of Waterloo, Wellington conveyed to the French through Marshall Marmont, his conviction that the British army did not believe they were fighting the French people. He used these exact words which might have been uttered today: "Nous sommes les ennemis d'un seul homme, et de ses adhérens." September 3, 1939, was not the first time in history that the spokesman for the British nation said, "We are the enemies of a single man, and of his adherents". It was Wellington's opinion that he was fighting Napoleon Bonaparte and Bonapartism, not the French people. He stuck to that opinion until the war was over, although there were many who disagreed with him very vigorously and who argued in words strangely familiar, that the French people who had accepted Bonaparte as their leader for so long could not be absolved from responsibility for his insane ambitions which had devastated Europe. With all the bitterness, so familiar to us today, they argued that a war-like people should be taught a lasting lesson which would end wars of aggression forever.

After Waterloo, Wellington faced strong opposition in this opinion. It was pointed out through the press and by public men in the House and outside, that France and Britain had been hereditary enemies for centuries, and that the French people must be forced to accept the responsibility for the devastation wrought by Napoleon, the man whom they had kept in power.

As the debate grew warm, Wellington submitted a memorandum to the British Prime Minister, stating his case. Let me quote briefly from it, and I suggest that if we substitute the word "German" for "French", and the word "Hitler" for "Bonaparte", it might have been written today and could have been spoken today with the utmost emphasis. Answering the demands that were being made for punitive action against France following their tremendous victory at Waterloo, Wellington said this: "It will defeat the object which the Allies have held out to themselves in the present and preceding wars. That which has been their object has been to put an end to the French Revolution, to obtain peace for themselves and their people, to have the power of reducing their overgrown military establishments, and the leisure to attend to the internal concerns of their several nations, and to improve the situation of their people." Then, mark these words: "The Allies took up arms against Bonaparte because it was certain that the world could not be at peace as long as he should possess, or should be in a situation to attain supreme power in France; and care must be taken in making the arrangements consequent upon our success that we do not leave the world in the same unfortunate situation respecting France that it would have been in if Bonaparte had continued in possession of his power."

These remarkable words were written of a situation parallel to the one we now face, and after a victory as complete as the victory we hope to attain, but the argument didn't end there. It continued for some time and it was an argument strangely familiar to that which we are hearing today. In answer to further demands that the possibility of French aggression be prevented for all time, Wellington forwarded this second memorandum to the Prime Minister:

"If the policy of the united powers of Europe is to weaken France, let them do so in reality. Let them take from that country its population and resources as well as a few fortresses. If they are not prepared for that decisive measure, if peace and tranquillity for a few years is their object, they must make an arrangement which will suit the interests of all the parties to it, and of which the justice and expediency will be so evident that they will tend to carry it into execution."

Wellington sought at the time of his supreme power in Britain and in Europe, as Chamberlain and Daladier are seeking today, not a dictated peace over an utterly defeated people at that particular time, but a negotiated peace, a peace of which the justice and expediency would be so evident that all nations would tend to carry it into execution.

Wellington, fortunately for us today, won his point. He was sent to France with plenipotentiary power to help in the setting up of a new government which would restore France to prosperity, not hold them in restraint. He played a great part in rebuilding the very nation which under Napoleon had spread devastation throughout Europe, had broken international law, and had embarked on a programme of just such unbridled conquest as Hitler has embarked on during these past two years.

What is the result? Let us remember our history. From 1066 until 1815 France and Britain had been constantly engaging in recurring wars. They had never at any time been Allies. For 750 years France had appeared to be Britain's hereditary enemy. But in 1815 all that was changed and as a result of what? As a result of the friendly assistance given to a defeated enemy. As a result of that assistance, France and Britain established a lasting friendship which has grown year by year, until at the present time they are sealing it with their blood. It is such a friendship between nations as the world has never before seen. (Applause) If Wellington's contentions had not prevailed, and it should be remembered now that he barely won his point in the long argument, there is little likelihood that one of the most remarkable international friendships of all history would have been established.

I think, Gentlemen, there is a lesson of the most vital importance for us today in that very simple fact. Wellington insisted upon following through to its logical conclusion his contention that the British were fighting a single man and his adherents and not the French people. In spite of excesses by Bonaparte as great as any we are seeing today, he stuck to his point, and because that principle was accepted, nations which had been enemies for centuries became eternal friends. Now, those two nations are fighting a nation which also appears to be an hereditary enemy, just as France appeared to be the hereditary enemy of Britain in 1815, and the leaders of Britain and France are saying today, as Wellington said in 1815, "We are fighting one man and his adherents! We are not fighting the German people."

I believe that if we keep that principle clearly in our minds and make it equally clear to the German people that we believe in that principle and will stick to it, we may look forward after this war to a lasting friendship with Germany when we have destroyed Hitler and his adherents, as Wellington destroyed Bonaparte and his adherents in 1815. (Appause) No one questioned the sincerity of those who opposed Wellington's argument in 1815. No one should question the sincerity of those who do not agree with Chamberlain, Daladier and the Prime Ministers of the British Dominions today, but I believe that the teaching of history is manifestly clear. I believe it shows without any doubt the course that our thinking should follow.

No matter how strong the temptation may be with the daily record of atrocities at sea and in the air, I do not believe that hatred of the German people is in any way necessary to produce our maximum effort. Hatred is part and parcel of the Nazi system. I do not believe we will help our cause by imitating their methods. I am convinced that our men and women will put forth their best effort if they believe in the rightness of their cause and have the hope, the honest hope, that the victory which they expect to win will bring lasting peace. That can only happen if the justice of that peace is so evident that it will be acceptable, not only to ourselves but to the German people as well.

There is another reason why I think it is extremely important that we should make our position clear to the German people. I am convinced that nothing will so strongly unite the Germans as the belief that the French and British hate the German people as a race. I believe that if the German people can be convinced by quotations from speeches, or statements of leaders in the British and French countries, that we hate the German people and seek to destroy something of Germany itself, then it seems to me that they have no course but to stand together to the bitter end. I believe that if the German people are convinced that we are ready to make a favourable peace and extend the hand of friendship, as Britain did to France in 1815, then they are very likely to remove Hitler and his adherents and set up a government with which we can make peace.

I believe it is necessary and desirable that we should be equally clear on something else. We were told by Mr. Chamberlain on the day that Britain went to war: "It is evil things that we shall be fighting against—brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution". That, I implicitly believe, is exactly what we are fighting for. We are fighting for freedom as opposed to slavery; we are fighting for civilization as opposed to barbarism; we are fighting for the religious concept of life as opposed to ruthless paganism. If that is so, then there can be no compromise at any time with Hitler and what he stands for. Naziism must be destroyed. But, Gentlemen, if it is evil things that we are fighting against, then I do not see how we can throw into the awful arbitrements of war everything we possess for the purpose of destroying Naziism, unless we are prepared to say with equal force that we will not compromise now or at any other time with that vile thing known as Communism. (Applause) I believe it is of the utmost importance that we make it abundantly clear to the German people that, while we have no intention of dictating to Russia what form of government must be adopted in Russia, we are determined that Asiatic Barbarism will not sweep westward and overrun the cradle of civilization.

While the original Nazi programme, and Hitler's declaration of policy in "Mein Kampf" set up clear reasons for his claim to power, other than Communism. it should be remembered that all the evidence is clear that Hitler came to power in 1933 almost solely upon the ground that he was going to keep Communism out of Germany and out of Europe. Not only the great industrialists of Europe and the Reich, but the solid, simple, working people throughout the whole of Germany were terrified by the increasing strength of the Communist Party and they were determined to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the Communist Governments which they had seen set up immediately after the Great War in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg. That was why Hitler came to power and we should remember it today.

When we are told by those who have been in Germany recently that they believe the German people are solidly behind Hitler, we should remember that when those people saw Germany last, the German people still implicitly believed that Hitler was going to keep Communism out of Germany, and that he was prepared to fight Communism, not only in Germany but elsewhere in Europe. That was the reason the Germans have been given for the loss of the lives of young Germans in the conquered Division which he sent to Spain. Even if most German people were supporters of Hitler last summer, and personally I do not believe they were, even if they were, the whole situation changed in Germany on August 26th, when the agreement was signed with Russia. For six and a half years all the power of the mighty German propaganda machine had been convincing the German people that Communism was the greatest enemy of mankind. As late as February 28th of this year, Hitler said in the Reichstag amid great cheers: "We have not sought relations with one particular state and do not wish to enter into closer relations with it. This state is Soviet Russia." And in the official record of his speech loud applause is recorded after that statement—loud applause by the Deputies sitting in the Reichstag, only last spring. Then he went on: "More than ever we look on Bolshevism as the incarnation of the human lust of destruction. It is not we who are seeking contact with Bolshevism. We are inexorable enemies."

Inexorable enemies of the people he had described as the scum of the earth. Do you think that the German people are going to forget those statements over night, simply because Herr Hitler now tells them that there is no reason why Communism and Hitlerism should not stand side by side? No matter how low our opinion may be of the will power of a people who submitted to the domination of this man, the fact remains that the German people are intelligent, thinking people. Denied any news from the outside world, submitting to the control of radio and the press, they had no way of knowing what was going on, and it is not surprising that even the most intelligent of them in many cases accepted the nonsense that they were being taught, but you cannot remove from the minds of intelligent people the recollection of six and a half years steady teaching that Communism was the greatest enemy of man. They are not going to forget that. They haven't forgotten it. Hitler rose to power because the German people believed that he would protect them from Communism. Now they see Communist armies standing side by side with their own on their eastern frontiers and Communists are being tolerated in Germany once again. If the German people become convinced that the Allies really will protect Germany from Communism, as Hitler promised to do, six and a half years ago, then, Gentlemen, I am convinced they will drive Hitler from power for the very same reason they put him into power in January, 1933.

Now, I would not wish anything I have said to be taken as a suggestion that it is not necessary for us to prepare to fight this war to the very limit of our man power and resources. The mere evidence of our preparedness and our willingness to fight and keep on fighting to the bitter end will, I am sure, have a profound effect in Germany. But I am convinced that whether it be soon or whether it be late, there is a very real hope that the German people themselves will remove Hitler from power and set up a government which will be prepared to lay the foundation for a lasting peace, if we keep our purpose clear and convey that purpose in understanding terms to them.

I am the very last to suggest that we should not strain every effort to build up the most powerful fighting machine that we have ever had, but I think, for the reasons I have stated, that if we make it clear to the Germans that our war is not with them because they are Germans, but against Hitler and his adherents, and also make it equally clear that we are as strongly opposed to Communism as they were when they raised Hitler to power, then I think we will have travelled a very long way along the road to victory.

There has been a wide-spread conviction that another world war would destroy western civilization. That may be nearer than we think. We must remember that no attempt has yet been made to unleash the might machines of destruction against cities which have in their keeping the treasured records of man's upward struggle through the centuries. The dark shadow of Communism spreads westward over Europe. The hungry and enslaved people of Russia are at this moment a menace only to their cruel overlords. But Stalin waits in the hope that Britain and France, Germany and Italy, will pound each other to exhaustion. That was why he precipitated the war by his agreement with Germany. He knows his people are ready for revolution, but he knows also that nothing will so quickly unify a desperate and starving people as the prospect of rich plunder. Stalin waits and hopes that the time will soon come when his Asiatic Barbarism can sweep over the ruins of Christian civilization. That is his dream. That was his purpose when Molotov and Von Ribbentrop signed the agreement in Moscow on August 26th. Before we decide that German arrogance must be crushed forever, it would be wise to pause and consider whether it is not the very thing for which the arch-enemy of God, sitting in the Kremlin, is anxiously waiting and hoping.

We want no Pyrrhic victory. If our own funeral pyre is to blaze in triumph above the ashes of a ruined Germany, it will be small comfort that we have destroyed their dreams of conquest. All our past teaches us something very different. It has been the crowning genius of British culture that even the most savage tribes have been treated as friends. That friendship has brought us friendship in return. Never in the world's long history has there been more dramatic proof of the practical value of this simple Christian principle than that which we recently received from South Africa (Applause), when a man who was once our bitter enemy threw all his powerful support behind the British Empire at the time the British Empire needed that help. We have good reason in Canada to keep in our minds the sublime spirit of that great soldier, General Jan Christian Smuts. That man, once an enemy, stands for all the decent things we wish to preserve.

Gentlemen, we can be quite sure of one thing, amidst all the doubts. We have seen the end of one epoch in human history. I would close by repeating Mr. Chamberlain's words: "We are not aiming only at victory, but rather looking beyond it to the laying of the foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation". We are engaged today in a great spiritual adventure. We must meet that adventure with intellectual as well as physical courage. With all our strength we should strive to overcome our enemy, but with a clear purpose and without hatred. That is the British way and I believe the British way is still the best. (Applause—prolonged)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the Honourable Mr. Conant has kindly consented to extend on your behalf, our expression of thanks.

HONOURABLE GORDON CONANT: Mr. President and Gentlemen: When I first every hurriedly glanced at this card and saw the subject of Colonel Drew's address today, it appeared to me unwise and indeed unsafe that I should be present, indicating as it did the plans that were made for some procedure of which I might be one of the victims, one of the vanquished. But I was glad that my first impression was wrong and that it has been my privilege and pleasure to be present and hear this very able address today. On other occasions and at other times, and in a very different setting, I have had occasion to follow Colonel Drew with remarks that perhaps weren't exactly complimentary or agreeable. He might use even more vigorous words in expressing his opinion. You may rest content nothing like that will occur today because on this occasion, having in mind the best interests of the nation and of the British Empire at this time and in this emergency.

Gentlemen, we have listened to a very able address, a thought-provoking address, perhaps a discussion-provoking address, and through the kindness of your very excellent President, as his substitute, perhaps more correctly, I have great pleasure in extending to Colonel Drew the thanks of the Empire Club of Canada. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. Conant. We are very grateful to you, Colonel Drew, for this fine address, and I extend to you our thanks and appreciation, so ably expressed by Mr. Conant. (Applause)

"HUNGARY AT THE CROSSROADS"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. NICHOLAS R. DOMAN, M.A., Ph.D.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, November 30, 1939

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: We are indeed pleased to have with us today as our guest-speaker, Dr. Doman, a native Hungarian who has considerable information on European affairs and also on American affairs, due to his sojourn in the United States as a student in the University of Colorado, from which university he received the degree of M.A. He was also a student at the Universities of Milan and Paris and is a Ph.D. of the University of Budapest. He has studied Political Economy at Oxford, so he has a very wide knowledge of the affairs of these nations from his studies. He is a native Hungarian and during the recent Czech episode he served in the Hungarian army, and he will probably be able to tell us something of the situation that developed on that particular occasion. It is particularly opportune at this time, in view of the active diplomacy in the Balkan States, and also what has taken place in the Baltic States, as we have learned from our newspapers today, that we have this address from Dr. Doman. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Doman, whose subject will be "Hungary at the Crossroads".

(Applause)

DR. NICHOLAS R. DOMAN, M.A., Ph.D.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I feel very obliged for the kindness of your Chairman. I should say I feel a little embarrassed. I feel like a Capitalist who was accused by a Communist of receiving an unearned income, but, as according to the Communist the Capitalist likes the unearned income, I like the unearned compliments, and I thank you very much.

Before starting to discuss my topic, "Hungary at the Crossroads", I want to tell a story, from which you will know that you won't be able to understand everything I say. Nine years ago I was at a meeting of the League of Nations and I heard President Benes of Czechoslovakia speak. He was supposed to deliver a fine English talk. I was in the gallery with an English newspaper reporter and my friend the English reporter, expressed his surprise that the English language and the Czech language were so similar that he knew most of the words.

I have to tell that story because I have a strong accent and when I speak English I want you to know I don't speak Hungarian, and if you don't understand me that is not because I speak Hungarian.

I am sorry to speak in the form of a lecture. I wanted to avoid it but the dignity of the occasion required it. I want to state categorically that a lot of things that were not true yesterday are true today, and we are not quite sure whether they will be true tomorrow. But this freedom may make my progress easier.

Before starting to discuss my topic I have to discard some fallacies that might be present in the minds of many of you. Frequently somebody coming to this hemisphere is accused of being a propagandist. I admit the suspicion is justified many times. I am not in propaganda today. I am here in a private capacity, and not in the interests of any administration.

Now let us approach the subject today from the perspective of history, which will lead us up to the present, and then a word or two about the future. Outside forces have often created a difficult situation in the Danube Basin. Central forces and geographic factors always prevailed in Central Europe and most of the time Hungary was a large and strong entity. I say one of the greatest wonders emerging out of the invasion of the Mongols and the Turks and the heroic resistance of the German pressure and persuasion is that the Hungarian state and the Hungarian nation as such has never ceased to exist. The Goths, Gepides, Avars, the Huns, and many other Slavonic and German races succeeded only in establishing a temporary régime in the Danube Basin, and it is an historic and a political wonder that in spite of internal as well as external troubles and destructive forces, Hungary could have resisted all forces and the Hungarian kingdom did not cease to exist.

The present occasion does not permit even a brief survey but I want to present my topic from the historic point of view. In the 11th century, Hungary became established as a kingdom. From the 12th century on, Hungary became a great province with its borders washed by three seas—the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, and the Adriatic Sea. At that time Hungary was a uninational state. Now, I want to explain how Hungary became a multinational state through those destructive forces and external factors in Central Europe. Two major factors can account for the development. One factor was the Turkish invasion which started in Hungary in the 15th century. The Hungarian army from that time on resisted heroically the Turkish attacks and Hungary was the guard of western civilization against Ottoman destruction.

I do not want to speculate on what the situation in Europe and especially of Central Europe would be today if Hungary had not resisted the Turkish invasion. At the beginning of the 15th century the population of Hungary was four million and the popuation of England was four million, also. Four hundred years later the population of England was twenty million, and the population of Hungary was less than three million. Hungary did make a large sacrifice in defending the country against the Turks. For 150 years, one third of Hungary was subjected to Turkish rule and the Hungarian population was decimated.

Hungary, in the 16th century, had chosen Ferdinand of the Hapsburgs as King, and from that time on Austria and Hungary had the same ruler. This lasted until 1918 and was responsible for many troubles in Hungary. I don't want to say that Hungary would be better off today if she had never joined Austria. Hungary was very much in the position of the young man who wanted to know whether he should get married or not. His father told him, "If you get married you will regret it; if you don't get married you will also regret it". That is the situation of Hungary regarding the Hapsburg problem.

When the Hapsburgs came to the throne of Hungary, the German and Slavic races were invited to settle in the outskirts of Hungary. The Germans established industries and the Slavic races were occupied in agriculture. They were usually faithful servants of the policy of the Viennese administration to decrease Hungarian influence in Hungary proper. There was fierce resistance to the attempts to Germanize Hungary, which finally burst forth in the revolutions of 1848, when Hungary fought agaainst the Hapsburgs and the Slavic races and the Germans.

The history of Hungary from the 16th century on until the World War consisted of recurring struggles for freedom.

Today Hungary's foreign policy, as well as her interior policy is dominated by two main factors: one factor is for independence, the other is for the German alliance. Now, I am going to discuss with you the effect and the influence of Germany in Hungary, partly on interior policy and partly on the foreign policy of the country.

Hungary, in my eyes, is even more exposed to Naziism than was Germany. Her social and economic problems were graver after the war than those of the Reich. The last war and its consequences played havoc with her economic life and damages suffered by her were considerably higher than those of Germany. While Germany lost only 13 per cent of her territory, Hungary's losses amounted to 71 per cent. She lost ¾ of her iron ore production and almost 100 per cent of her mineral wealth and 88 per cent of her timber. The large domestic market of pre-war days was reduced to about 8,000,000 impoverished consumers.

Hungary's international position after the war was definitely worse than that of Germany. Germany, by concluding the Rapallo Treaty with Russia in 1922 emerged out of her isolation, while Hungary was completly isolated and surrounded by four neighbours who all grabbed territory from her. The peacemakers, in order to antagonize Austria and Hungary, have allotted a few counties of Western Hungary to Austria. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia soon formed a Little Entente, for the purpose of adopting a common policy against the revisionist demands of mutilated Hungary.

In view of the events in Germany, it would have been quite natural if Hungary had also adopted a similar course. The friendship between the two countries is today anything but sincere. If it were not for the common inclination to ward a grievance policy, the Germans and the Hungarians would be in opposite camps. The Germans were the historic enemies of Hungary and Hungary knows from the 11th century on until the latest date we had to fight against the Germans and to defend our independence, and Hungarians of historic sense are not oblivious of this fact. The unfortunate post-war conditions in Hungary were the main motives for the Nazi tide in the interior and for the ambiguous foreign policy which the country has to follow today. The Nazi policy may be suited for the Germans who are used to a gregarious spirit, but it is certainly alien to the Hungarians whose whole mentality and constitution cannot digest the lessons of National Socialism.

Perhaps a short survey of national socialist movements in Hungary would help to understand the national policies of the country. Hungary was perhaps the first country which proceeded to outlaw Communism. Her experience with Communism and the economic as well as international consequences of the four month old rule of Bela Kun in 1919 have discredited the Communist movement, and forced Hungary to adopt a very strong anti-Communist rule. In 1921 a law was enacted by the Hungarian Parliament which, though not mentioning Communists explicitly, was primarily directed against them. The Act of Parliament, bearing the title, "Act for Increased Defense of the State and Social Order", threatened with criminal procedings and heavy terms all activity which would fit under Communist classifications.

Hungary, after the war, became a purely agricultural country. Deprived of her natural resources and industries, she had started to rebuild her economic life. By gradual work, a sane economic policy and application of the Chinese wall of high tariffs, she succeeded in a remarkably brief time to change her aspect which today is semi-agricultural and semi-industrial. During this period of economic transformation, the Communist movement had lost its foothold. A movement of economic recovery is never a propitious moment for social revolutions. Furthermore, the Government applied drastic measures against every isolated Communist attempt. Communism was not only outlawed on the statute books, but was also tabooed by the whole population which still remembers the nightmare of the short-lived Bolshevik régime. When the depression had set in, the aspects were definitely different. The economically distressed classes, owing to the outlawry of Communism, sought a panacea somewhere else than in Moscow. The ultra-national elements rejoiced at the military slogans of the National Socialist Party, and tried to imitate them. A few even were not unfriendly toward the idea that the wagon of their nation should be hitched to that of Germany.

The terrible blow inflicted on Hungarian pride by the peace treaties and the economic consequences of the mutilation of the country couldn't have other results than those which they have necessarily entailed. The Hungarian army officers and a considerable proportion of the middle class pinned their hope on Germany's resurrection. Displaying a surprising blindness toward historic forces and geographical factors, they have enthusiastically advocated closer ties with Germany and have wanted to share the fate of the Reich.

The first Nazi party in Hungary was founded in 1932. Its leaders fortunately were career-hunting desperado politicians, whose unsuccessful career in parliamentary, democratic channels drove them toward an adventure with Naziism. The poor leadership in the first Hungarian National Socialist Party, and the fact that quite a few of them had some Jewish blood in their veins, rendered the Nazis until 1937 ridiculous. Many middle class members refused to join the party because they did not want to share the comical aspect of the Nazis. The parliamentary elections in 1935 were still not fulfilling the hopes of Nazis who became represented with only two deputies in the

Chamber of Deputies, consisting of 245 members. Furthermore, these National Socialist parliamentarians had intellectual qualifications which approached the ridiculous. The contents of their speeches were reported in the funny section of the daily papers. Their activity has for a long time discredited the National Socialists' success in Hungary.

In March, 1935, Germany publicly repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and announced her huge armament race. Austria followed suit in April, 1936, while Hungary was still silent. The danger of a possible invasion by the Little Entente states precluded the Hungarian Government from openly introducing conscription, and from embarking upon the same policy as Germany and Austria. The nationalistic element started to lose confidence in the government which advocated moderation and had not thought of leaving the League of Nations. Germany for at least ten years after the war had not seriously considered a territorial revision of the peace treaty. In Hungary, agitation for revision had never stopped since the Treaty of Trianon was added to the statutes on June 4, 1920, and I should say that the Hungarians are definitely more nationalistic than Germans. Nevertheless, Hungary's policy was definitely less aggressive than that of Germany.

As you know, the European university has been so often the hot-bed of extreme right political movement. The students in Hungary and the small bourgeoise became the bulwark of the different national socialist parties. If Hungarians were just as gregarious as the Germans, Hungary today would not be any more a constitutional, parliamentary state. The eagerness for leadership caused many national socialist parties to spring up, which first of all attacked each other while the government took the rôle of onlooker. Today, after the general elections of May, 1938, the number of national socialists in the Hungarian Parliament is 49. There are others, however, who for some reason or another have not adopted the Nazi emblem but are registered as supporters of the Government party. The 49 National Socialists belong to nine different parties and there are still others who have not succeeded in getting parliamentary representation.

There is very little Prussian in Hungarian Naziism. The individual Hungarian does not want National Socialism and if he adopts it he does it only temporarily as a means of liberation from an economic and international stranglehold.

There is much similarity between the English and Hungarian political history and the social structure of the two countries. Therefore it is not a surprise to me that our Nazi leaders are not of the German type but resemble more the British Sir Oswald Mosley. Major Szalasi, the Leader of the powerful Arrow Cross party, which is the biggest Nazi party in Hungary, a few years ago offered his services to the Social Democratic Party and only when he was refused he started to build up his own National Socialist Movement which today is a large factor in Hungarian politics.

The Government was for some time at a loss with the National Socialists. Their patriotic slogans supplied them protection and it was only since 1937 that far-reaching police measures were started against them. The so-called Communist law of 1921 was put in force against them and they were tried under that law, destined for the protection of the State and social order. The same treatment was allotted to them as to Communists, and Major Szalasi, the Hungarian Hitler, is now serving a term of three years. The fact that they were advertising Anti-Communist slogans, was irrelevant to the firm determination of the Government to strike on them. Their wholesale promises had effects also on industrial workers, many of whom joined the Nazi parties. In the industrial centres of Budapest the National Socialists emerged as the largest political group after the general election this year. Former Communists joined the Nazi ranks a long time before the Hitler-Stalin Pact was officially announced last August. Many of the little Fuehrers in Hungary served long sentences for Communistic offences or were active under the Communist régime of 1919. The industrial workers, losing confidence in the Socialist Party, expected to realize their aims with the National Socialists. The Socialist Party, in order to avoid the threatened dissolution, proceeded to a meek and sterile policy. The advance of the Nazis is especially conspicuous in those districts which were socialist strongholds before. The activity of Communists got new vigour in Nazi ranks as they have realized that the wearing of Communist emblems is suicide. It is remarkable how the young apprentices, the former *guarde de reserve* of the Communists are now conspicuous in the Nazi street demonstrations. Except for Jewish Communists, the rank and file of the former Communist party is now reorganized within the National Socialist hierarchy.

Nobody can venture a prophecy as to whether the Nazis will come to power in Hungary. I personally abhor the possibility because they represent the most shallow strata of our political and social life. Their activity has already caused grave displacement in our economic life. Capital, and not merely the Jewish one, is extremely timid and spending investments are at a dangerous low point. Our reputation is disparaged abroad because a Nazi régime in Hungary will have to make a strong alliance with Germany. Of course, in Hungary the Nazis have embarked on propaganda against the Jews and have tried to stress the differences among social classes. Many of the landless farm labourers and even the low-salaried and embittered middle class men will remain dissatisfied by the reforms of the Government, because these reforms are running short of the irresponsible Nazi promises. A wing of the Government party, some members of the Cabinet, have espoused the Nazi ideology in the expectation that the Nazi movement will lose ground if some of the Nazi promises were carried out by the party. However, the Government has adopted more of the ideology of the Nazis than social programmes. It seemed more convenient to make concessions in slogans than in practice.

The anti-Jewish law forced upon Hungary mainly by German pressure had satisfied only that minority group of middle class Nazis who blamed the Jews for their low income. The great masses had very little use for these laws as limitation of Jews in professions, trades and industry of course does not effect the millions of toilers whose chief motive in joining the Nazis was desire for more adequate social and economic conditions. Even if millions and millions were among the revolutionary forces, which is not so true today as last year, the Nazis wouldn't have any hope for revolution if they are not supported by the army and the police. While the police as a whole in Hungary is a faithful servant of the régime, the loyalty of many army officers is generally doubted. Army officers of a vanquished country have as a rule more affinity with an extreme movement based upon aggressive spirit and international radicalism.

If the Nazi movement were purely a lower class one it would have very little chance for a triumph as modern mechanized weapons have turned odds definitely to favour the cause of those in power. I am more than convinced that revolution can be successful only if countenanced by at least a certain minority of the armed forces. Taine, the French historian, may have been right a hundred years ago when he said that there are some moments when possibilities of revolution are lying ready on the street. Today, they are in the barracks, in the broadcasting stations and in the easy chairs of Government officials.

Being a scholar, and perhaps also a good Hungarian and a good European, I have to be opposed to Naziism which is based on mob psychology and ancient tribe philosophy, and which emphasizes the most despicable features of our age. Some of the aristocrats in Hungary, though only a few, are desirous of reviving their old glory and are dreaming of the day when they can march before ragged masses toward the much coveted power.

Hungary was always a land of paradoxes. We remember that in 1918 the social and political revolution was led by one of the wealthiest aristocrats in the whole of Europe, Count Michael Karolyi. We also remember that not quite a year ago it was a part Jew Prime Minister, Dr. Imredy, who sponsored the anti-Jewish legislation in which he consciously or unconsciously (I don't know which) tried to persecute himself and deprecated his own ancestors. The fate of the Nazis in Hungary in the eyes of many observers is tied up with the future of Nazi Germany, and the more bolshevik Nazi Germany becomes, the sooner will be accomplished the reddening process in Hungary, too.

It is typical of the Nazi parties that they are financed by the German Government or the German Nazi Party. No reasonable person has any doubt that the largest Nazi Party in Hungary is a subsidiary of the Nazi Party in the Reich. Even the Prime Minister of Hungary who usually has very little use for forceful language, has publicly branded the Nazi Parties for having accepted funds from abroad. The subsidiary Nazi movements in Hungary are servile disciples of the great party in the Reich and the well practised methods of the latter are copied by their representatives in Hungary. It is noticeable that very few full blooded Hungarians are engaged in leading capacities in the Nazi parties and the little Fuehrers in Hungary are mostly of Slavonic descent or Germans. Those whose ancestors a few centuries ago migrated to Hungary are more liable to succumb to the Nazi spell than the pure Hungarian. So these parties have achieved the greatest results in the districts which are populated by the German minorities; they have been more successful there than in the purely Hungarian districts. The German minority, although loyal citizens of Hungary before Hitler came to power in Germany, particularly most of the young Germans in Hungary have succumbed to the Nazi spell and want to see the day when they will greet Adolf Hitler on his triumphal march into Budapest. The older generation of Germans is not very friendly toward the Nazi propaganda. The Government has been very lenient toward these disrupting elements and in the last election the Hungarian Government has invited some of the leaders of the German Nazi minority to take a Government party ticket. I think that the policy of the government was not very successful and not very desirable, because the Nazis in parliament and in the Government Party have more voice than they had before.

Ever since Hitler came to power in 1933, particularly since his reconciliation with Mussolini, Hungary's position has been described as tragic and hopeless. Voices were heard all over the world saying she had become a subsidiary of Germany and had lost her independent will. The press of the world felt inclined to discount Hungary as an independent nation and to treat her as an annex of the Third Reich. When Austria was still indulging in her independence and Czechoslovakia scheming in the Little Entente, Hungary was regarded as being already within the German orbit. Austria, whose independence was guaranteed by the League of Nations and the great powers—Italy, Great Britain and France—was anything but independent in spite of all the safety valves. Czechoslovakia, overlooking the weakness of the Little Entente, and the multinational character of its political structure, embarked upon a policy to which she was not measured. France and Russia had not guaranteed integrity of Hungary, she was not protected by anybody, and she could not expect help from the League of Nations either.

The statesmanship in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland was exalted, while the world press has always treated Hungary as an easy prey for German expansion. Today these three countries have been unfortunately swept off the map. Hungary, whose epitaph has been prepared for a long time, has struggled and has not only safeguarded her former independence but also many features of her thousand year old constitution and parliamentary structure. Hungary, a small country, a shadow of her former strength, mutilated, deprived of more than half her territory, population and resources, facing potential enemies on every inch of her border, is still master of her soul.

Jugoslavia is in the nut-cracker of Italy and Germany and any German advance there would be at the expense of Italy. Hungary, not being contiguous to Italy, is more attackable by the Germans, since Italy's interests, at least geographically, are not immediately concerned. "Swastika over Hungary"—headlines of that sort are abounding, yet the state of St. Stephen is still a major factor in European politics. The resistance and diplomacy displayed there shows the realistic sense which the people have always possessed; otherwise, they would have been a long time in the depth of the abyss. The temptation to which the Hungarian state is exposed cannot be overstated. Everybody had expected that Hungary, destitute after the World War, would sell out to the first bidder. She was weakened in population and territory but not in resistance. She was deprived of more than half of her territory, without plebiscites which were refused, because though secret treaties, various parts of Hungary had been promised by Britain and France to the lesser Allies in 1916 and 1917. The racial problems were dexterously fanned into flame largely by promises made to a group of nationalities and small races.

But you cannot know, not being Hungarian, what it meant, when with one deep scratch of the pen, Poland was reunited, while the map of Hungary fluttered into six fragments. The country which for a thousand years had been an entity was dismembered. The economic unity of the Hungarian kingdom was destroyed. Hungary was completely isolated until 1927 when Italy offered to Hungary an outstretched hand, which Hungary still has not forgotten. When Hitler came to power he espoused the cause of Hungary, which became a close collaborator of the axis of the now badly bent, if not broken instrument. Hungarian foreign policy since the war has two major concepts: to safeguard her independence against the host of threatening elements an to recover those territories having in majority a Hungarian population of which she was deprived at the table of the Peace Conference.

The Government, not very skilfully, tried to persuade the Hungarian public that the Germans are our friends, filled with great sympathy toward us. I don't know to what extent these words were dictated by conviction, and to what extent by the necessity to counteract public opinion. The former Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the veteran Kanya, knew how to escape entangling alliances and avoided every commitment which would line up Hungary irretrievably with the axis. While Hungary feels friendlier to the democracies than to Germany, as a neighbour of Germany she has to live up to the facts. If I can express myself in one sentence I would say Hungary is in love with the democracies, but she is wedded to Germany. She is very anxious to get a divorce, she wants to go to Reno, and if she gets a divorce, she wants to get remarried. Hungary couldn't have joined the Allies because France, especially, had committed herself to the preservation of the *status quo* in Central Europe.

The Allies realize today that Hungary had no other choice in her foreign policy than the course she has followed, which has been her natural course. Even I, whose political and personal sympathy were definitely with the Allies, have to admit that an alliance with the Western democracies today or in the recent past, is not in line with Hungary's political aspirations. The best intellectuals in the country are opposed to the ties of Germany, but the rigid attitude of the Allies toward our frontier problem does not afford another choice.

The difference in character, in political ambitions, conflicting national interests and traditional opposition, are all against the German friendship. If it were not for that unfortunate treaty question, Hungary would certainly back the Allies today.

Today both the French and British Governments know that Hungary is threatened by Germany, and though Hungary is not guaranteed by the Allies, the Allies would like to go to the help of Hungary, although due to the unfortunate geographic situation, they would not be able to support Hungary if she is attacked. The sabre rattling of Hungary against Russia at the beginning of this year was very unfortunate. Nobody in Hungary suspected that Russia would become our neighbour in a very few months. Today, Hungary as a double historic duty, has to resist the western invasion on the part of the Germans and the easterly invasion of the Russians. If the Hungarians do not stand up against the Germans, nothing can stop them from reaching the Black Sea, and if they reach the Black Sea the life-line of Britain on the Mediterranean Sea will be greatly endangered. Furthermore, if Hungary cannot hold back Russia, and if there is not enough assistance on the part of the other countries, the Russians will not stop until they reach the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the Italo-Hungarian friendship today is stronger than ever before. There is a plan for escape by which the Italian King might become the King of Hungary. The scheme might be accepted by many Hungarians, even by those who have Republican inclinations. If the King of Italy became the King of Hungary, in the event that Hungary was attacked by Germany, Italy might come to the help of Hungary. That might bring Italy in on the side of the Allies. This possibility, though not discussed publicly yet, was a matter of consideration by the diplomatic Corps of Hungary and Italy. That is the reason that today Mussolini is not very enthusiastic about the restoration of the Hapsburgs, because if the Hapsburgs are restored the Italian influence in Central Europe would not be so strong as it is today. Futhermore, the Jugoslavs are very strongly opposed because if Hungary had a Catholic King, there might be a Croat attempt to secede from Jugoslavia and join Hungary, or the Croats might adopt the same policy as Hungary and choose Victor Emmanuel for King.

The solution in Hungary and Central Europe is bound up with the establishment of the Federated States of Central Europe, or a Union of Central Europe, of every country in Central Europe, which will involve sacrifices in order to attain the ultimate objective. It is rather unfortunate that the spirit of Central Europe today is not ripe for a union of the Central European States, and I would say it is the duty of the great powers to force the small central European countries to unite. I would say that most of the central European races are still minors in the family of nations. They still need some tutoring. I hope that that tutoring will not come from Germany, but from Italy, France and Britain, who have no designs on the small countries. If the small countries do not hold together they will have the same dilemma to face that Voltaire warned the French peasants of—if they don't hold together they will hang separately. If the small countries do not hold together Germany will eat them, one after another. The lesson of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland should be instructive to Rumania, Jugoslavia and Bulgaria and unite them with Hungary as well. They should be more clever than the bourbons who, after the French Revolution had not learned anything, nor did they forget anything either. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, Distinguished Guests: Dr. Doman has given us an excellent address on the historical development of the kingdom of Hungary, its present state, its foreign and internal policies, the experience of this little country and the effect of the many "isms" on its political and social economy, surrounded as it is by what they feel are many enemies.

I take much pleasure on your behalf in extending to Dr. Doman the thanks and appreciation of the Empire Club for his excellent address which has enlightened us on the serious problems that confront Hungary at this time. (Applause)

"ANTI-SEMITISM"

AN ADDRESS BY GILBERT E. JACKSON, B.A.

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, December 7, 1939

CHAIRMAN: It is my privilege to introduce the speaker, our honoured guest today, Mr. Gilbert Jackson. He is very well known throughout the Province of Ontario and in Canada, and perhaps better known the last few years in London, England. He has been connected with the University of Toronto for many years, beginning his association with it in 1910. He was Lecturer in Economics and afterwards Professor of Economics in the University. Later still, he became Director of the Course of Commerce and Finance. A very young man, you say, as you look at him, to have achieved so much. Mr. Jackson is now a Consulting Economist in Toronto, having lately returned from England, where he was Advisor to the Bank of England.

I have very much pleasure in introducing our guest of honour, Mr. Gilbert Jackson, who is going to speak to us on a subject in which I think every thoughtful person should be interested—"Anti-Semitism".

MR. GILBERT E. JACKSON, B.A.: We spend a great deal of our time, when you come to think of it, discussing the divisions that exist in Canada. With all the main divisions, everyone of course is familiar: between French-speaking and English-speaking, between urban and rural, between employers and employed; sources of divergence in interest between great groups of people in this country, which sometimes cause us not a little worry. But I wish to dwell on another distinction today, which is often (and that is a sign of the country's health) overlooked. I mean the distinction between those born in Canada, whatever their race or language, and those living in Canada but born abroad. In the latter group are included, of course, all who may be classified as immigrants in law, whether British-born or born in Sweden or Galicia.

The distinction is one that I like sometimes to rub in, to my Canadian-born friends. I like to remind them that just as an Englishman may become a member of the House of Lords by mere accident of birth, so should they consider themselves Canadians by the mere accident of birth. They happened to be born in this country. Here, whether because they liked it, or because they could not follow some ambition elsewhere, or for sheer lack of enterprise—here they happen to remain. That is how they happen to be Canadians.

But we who came here as immigrants (and I rank among these, for in spite of having lived here before some of the members of this Club were born, I came originally, nevertheless, from another land)—we who came here as immigrants are not in Canada because of a mere accident. We came to Canada because this country looked good; we stayed here, because we found it was good. We came in hope; and we were not disappointed. *We* became Canadians by choice, not by accident.

That goes for all, or almost all of us: for the British-born, for Americans, for Swedes and Icelanders, for Greeks, Italians and Galicians—and for Jews. We have adopted Canada; but more important, we feel an immense gratitude to this country because Canada has adopted us.

That is a fact that I want to drive home this morning. I wish to drive it home for the sake of all the two-million-or-so Canadians, originally born elsewhere, who have adopted Canada. Because each of us knows more about his own experience than anyone else's, perhaps I may be pardoned for indulging in a monment's autobiography.

When I first got here, in 1911, I came in a fine sporting spirit. Canada had offered a chance in life to me; the chance of a small appointment in this university. No chance as good was offered elsewhere. I was prepared to like the country.

For all of us who come here, there is a necessary period of adjustment. We *think* English—or Swedish—or Greek—or Galician—whatever we may be. Because we think thus, we don't always at first understand the Canadian-born, and very naturally, the Canadian-born don't always understand us. Sometimes, when young and foolish, we criticise Canada without understanding. Sometimes, and with ample provocation, Canada criticises her less attractive immigrants.

But that passes, or if it doesn't, your immigrant had best get out. Some do. But those who remain (and who don't wear their hearts on their sleeves) are apt to develop an affection for Canada that they seldom talk about.

When I had been three years here (in the spring of 1914) I received a most attractive offer from across the line. I had worked, over a period of six weeks, for Clarence Barron, the veteran owner of the Wall Street Journal, one of the greatest men whom I have ever known. I had an offer from Barron of a permanent job with him. He made it in Boston. I said, "Of course I'll come to you." That wise old man said, "No. You'll not accept it here. Go back to Canada. Take a fortnight's holiday. Look around the place, then write and tell me that you'll come to me."

Somewhat unwillingly, because I saw no need of this, I went back to Toronto. For a couple of weeks I'd wait (simply to please Barron) and then—I'd hurry back to take up this appointment.

I got here on a Sunday morning. I stepped off the street car and set off up St. George Street to my boarding house. The trees were in green leaf, the sun shone, everything was fresh and everything was peaceful. In a single minute (and to my great astonishment) I said to myself, "But *this* is where you belong—and you don't belong anywhere else. You *can't* go to Barron." So there was nothing to do but wait a fortnight for decency, then write to Barron a letter that he probably understood, trying to tell him why my mind had changed completely—to refuse his offer, once for all.

On that morning, I suppose I became a Canadian. Twice since then I have left Canada: once, going to the last war, when I served not in a Canadian, but a British regiment; and once, to take service with the Bank of England. Each time, I spent four years away from Canada, but each time, I came back like a homing pigeon .

I tell this long story, not as a piece of egotism: but because, with differences in all the details, it is the tale of a million immigrants—Canadians who have adopted Canada.

If your immigrant has got the right stuff in him (and if he doesn't have it, he will probably not stay here—half our immigrants depart) he feels as I felt on that Sunday morning, and as I feel now—conscious that Canada gave me my chance in life, to make more than a bare living, to do something useful in the world, to start a family, to bring up children (this more important than anything) and to face the children's future with a feeling of security. When a country does that for a man it establishes an obligation—one that all the work of a man's life cannot repay. There are, I make bold to say, hundreds of thousands of immigrants among us, conscious of a debt to Canada which there is no means of assessing, and anxious, all their lives, to pay that debt. Your immigrant is an asset, not merely because he represents a certain amount of brains and sinew, but because all that is good in him urges him to pay that debt to Canada.

This is said without respect of race. But my job this morning is to talk about the Jews. And the Jews are a peculiar people—not because of their supposed racial characteristics (and there is nobody who tells such marvellous funny stories about the Jews, as the Jew, full of pride of race but wise) but because, unlike all other kinds of immigrants to whom this Dominion has given a chance in life, the Jew has been homeless for most of the last two thousand years.

In these days, in most of Europe (where, still, most Jews live) the Jew has few civil rights, if any. In certain countries (France, for instance) he has the full rights of citizenship; but there are few Jews in France. Generally speaking, the Jew has been and is "outside the pale"—his economic opportunities limited, his legal position insecure, ostracised socially by the ruling classes, above all, the future of his children a matter of complete uncertainty.

In one respect, particularly, the Jews' position has been desperate, not in this generation only, but almost always in the Christian era. Seldom has he been able to claim, with the same confidence as the rest of us, the protection of the courts. The rest of us could regard the courts as a safeguard; to the Jew, legal disabilities have been a handicap additional to his social and economic disabilities. And in many countries, the law has done little or nothing to protect the Jew from mob violence. When I was at Cambridge, the time-honoured mathematics course was altered; there were to be no more senior wranglers. Almost the last of the senior wranglers was a Jew—Selig Brodetzky, born in Russia, today British, and one of the most marvellous mathematical brains in the world. Selig Brodetzky has described to me how, while still a child, he watched a Russian mob murder his mother and his uncles.

Now for the Jew, more than for any man of the race, the British Empire is a haven. Before the courts, the Jew has the same rights as any man, administered impartially. Within the British Empire the Jew, his possessions, his livelihood, his wife and children, are absolutely safe. And one of the things that I should like to talk about this morning, is the position of the Jew vis-a-vis the British Empire. The debt of the Jew to the British Empire is tremendous. Nobody knows this better than the Jew. To him, the British Empire stands for certain principles (as also does the United States) without which, his race perhaps could not survive.

Shall I tell you what is the most striking utterance that I have heard since the war started? I should think that everyone within reach of my voice also heard it, but not everyone may have given it the same attention. Its author was our friend, whom I see here this morning, Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath. In a speech to his co-religionists last September, he began talking about "Our Empire". And I felt proud when he made use of that expression.

Did he not illustrate, more aptly than anyone in our neighbourhood, the difference between this Empire of ours and our enemies in this (I hope) the last of all world wars? Can one imagine a Rabbi, speaking in Berlin, Munich, Prague or Warsaw, talking about "our Reich"? (One can well imagine what would happen to such a Rabbi, bold or rash enough to say these words). The fact that a Rabbi, speaking to Jews, should naturally make use of this phrase, and that all of us should regard it as perfectly natural, and pass it without comment, is as good an illustration as I can recall, of the fundamental characteristic that makes us proud of the British Empire.

And if the British Empire does thus-and-so for the Jews, what have the Jews done for the British Empire? I pass over the familiar, historic illustrations—the London Rothschild of Napoleon's time, making possible the financing of Wellington in Spain; Disraeli purchasing the Suez Canal shares, and changing fundamentally the whole of British Empire strategy—helped by the descendants of that same Rothschild.

Instead, I should like to tell another story—this time, not about myself. It is the tale of a poor Jew boy who came to Cambridge at the time when I went to Cambridge. For reasons which will appear presently, his identity must be disguised.

This Jew was born in one of the British Dominions—not Canada. Full of ambition he came to Cambridge—an expensive place—in my first year. He came from a home as poor as you can imagine. He had, I think, $4 with which to finance his Cambridge career. Ridiculous, of course, and no remittances to come.

His Tutor—the Cambridge Tutor stands in the relation of a parent—was a wise and humane man—fortunately, quite well off. He lent this penniless boy the money with which to pay his college bills. Otherwise, of course, he would have disappeared at Christmas, leaving unpaid debts.

This Jew became my first friend in Cambridge, and my best friend. I did not take him for a Jew. Never had I met a Jew before. I had read about them in books, of course, but I did not actually realize, having met none, that the Jew still existed on this earth. Not till my friend came to breakfast one morning and said, "If you don't mind, we Jews don't eat bacon," did I realize that the Jew still existed in the world of men. But, as I say, this Jew became my best friend—and came to my home and stayed with my parents. For a fortnight, for his sake, we had only Kosher food.

His Tutor lent him the money to pay his college bills; a pretty dangerous proceedings, you may think. But this Jew proved to be the best law student of his generation, and Cambridge is provided with scholarships. This Jew began to gain scholarships, one after another. He paid back his Tutor; he paid his own expenses; and starting with only $4 to pay for his college course, he finished by saving money.

My great ambition, at that time, was to become an English barrister. I, too, had no money. But there were two special scholarships in this college—the Jew's and mine—which financed the two best men in each graduating year, so that they could be called to the Bar. My great ambition was to get one of these scholarships.

No need to tell you that I was *not* one of the two best men of our graduating class. But to my great surprise and delight, I did, on graduation, get one of the two scholarships, so that I found I could become a barrister. My Jew friend should have competed against me for it; and if he had, never in this world could I have won it. He did not compete.

Twelve months later, he won it also, but in order that I should first get it, my friend had "stood down" for a year, risking his chance—risking the whole of his career—so that I, his Gentile friend, might have a chance. I did not learn the facts until years afterwards.

But that is not the story that I set out to tell you. What he did for me, I shall never forget. But I talk about him this morning, because I want to tell you just one of the things that this man did for England.

He went in due course abroad, settled in a foreign country which I do not name. In that country, presently, my friend became the leading member of his own profession. But his activities were not confined to law—ranged far beyond. They were such that he had access, in England, to Whitehall and Downing Street; and in the land where he lived, access not only to political but also to court circles.

Quite unofficially, for years past (and on his own initiative entirely) this man has held what perhaps I may call a "watching brief" for England. Acting with entire good faith towards everyone (and that is a main element in his strength) time and again he has strengthened British interests.

A couple of years ago, casually reading the paper, he came on a certain news item. At first, it did not register. Then he said "My God" (for it must be confessed that even Jews, when excited, take the name of the Lord in vain), "My God," he said, "if this happens it will cost England" (never mind how) "ten million dollars!"

It was none of his business, but he made it his business. He worked hard and for a long time, both in England and the country where he lived. If he had let the matter rest, nobody would have done anything about it. As it is, and as a result of his work, the ten million dollars have, I believe, been saved already for England.

This, you may think, is a small matter. What are ten million dollars, in 1939? Ten million dollars would not pay Britain's war bill, even for half a day. These are the days for thinking in big figures.

Well, that may be so. But there is an arithmetic about the business that I find quite impressive. England (because England is fair and generous) took in a Jew boy long years ago, gave him a first-class education, and chucked him a handful of scholarships (about $7,000 in all, I suppose) with which to pay for that education. England, in brief, took in this immigrant, and in him invested, quite casually, the trifling sum of $7,000.

That was a long time ago, but the Jew remembered. Ever since then, in one fashion or another, not in cash but by guarding Britain's interest abroad, my friend has been paying the debt. I have no doubt that, years ago, his debt had been repaid, many times over.

Then at the last, as if he had not already done enough, he turns around and saves for England ten millions of dollars.

If we were to consider his $7,000 of scholarships as an income-producing investment, we might say that he had paid the Mother Country back, in cash interest, at the rate of about 32 per cent per annum during all the time since he left Cambridge.

Or if we were to consider this as a case of investment appreciation, we might say that England's initial $7,000 had appreciated by rather more than 1,400 per cent in the meanwhile.

If a man had been wise and well informed enough to buy Lake Shore when it was 10c a share; and if Lake Shore were some day to be quoted at $143 per share; and if he were then to sell, he might make as good an investment as England so casually, but gracefully, made in that boy, long ago.

But, is not that our British way? We cast our bread upon the waters. We take in our immigrants and educate them, give them and their sons a chance, in faith, and in faith only, faith that by giving them a square deal, by giving them *what democracy means* we shall build them into the Britain—or the Canada—that all of us are making—faith that by following this course, we shall be creating an asset for our country.

For years and years it was my privilege to teach youth in this town. My pride in our own University rests in part on this: that any man's sons and daughters can come into the buildings, and all are treated alike. There is no favouring the sons of the rich—indeed, at one time and another, I tossed out quite a lot of rich men's sons myself—with no compunction at all. And there is no neglecting the sons of the poor—even of the poor immigrant.

Gentile and Jew mingle on equal terms in those buildings—whatever may be the case outside—and there is a very healthy rivalry between them. I have myself gone in for one kind of anti-Semitism in this connection. The class of 1932—no better class has ever fallen to my lot—included a lot of able Gentiles (some of them here in this meeting) and a handful of able Jews.

(I pause at this point, to dispel a widely held illusion: the belief on the part of a lot of Christian parents, that *all* Jewish students are able. Nothing could be further from the truth. A lot of Jewish students are terrible. They couldn't be worse if they were Christians! But the first-class Jewish student is a delight to teach.)

Well, here was this class, with a lot of able Gentiles, and a sprinkling of able Jews. But the Jews were *always* at the top—and, much as I liked them, I got sick of it. I pleaded with the Gentiles. I said, "Can't you do just a little better? Must these Jews keep on beating you?" Like the good fellows that they were, my Gentile students rose to the challenge. They did their best; and it was very good. But in spite of that, the Jews led still at graduation.

But if we can be proud that our University makes no distinction between rich and poor, beween privileged and unprivileged, or beween creeds, can we say the same of Canadian life generally?

I fear not; and one couldn't learn that better than by becoming (as I did) an unofficial employment agent for students going out into life.

Of course, overtly, we do not have anti-Semitism in Canada. Here and there, it is true, there have been local manifestations of this evil thing, which all the world over marks the brute slumbering in every society. But except in one or two Canadian holiday resorts, and in the small element of our population which may perhaps, not unjustly, be described as *Goebbels-minded,* nobody here gives expression to dislike of the Jews.

Recent events, indeed, have taught us all that, almost always, an attack on the Jews preludes an attack on everybody's liberties. There is a recognized technique in this: your would-be dictator stirs up the lowest of human passions against the most defenceless minority—the Jews are an admirable choice for the purpose—teaches the hooligan element that exists everywhere the fun of kicking those who can't kick back—and having recruited and trained for his own purposes a big enough team of toughs, then in frank contempt of the law proceeds to make a slave of everyone. The last ten years have surely taught us that in defending the Jews among us against those who preach anti-Semitism, we safe-guard our own liberties; and if we permit—or still worse—encourage Jew-baiting, we thus undermine inevitably the foundation of our own civil liberties. All of us are well aware of this.

How then did I, working as an employment agent for students, come across anti-Semitism?

I came across it, sometimes—not always, thank God!—where I found doors closed to first-class men, simply because they were Jews. Nothing unpleasant was intended against the Jew. The fact was, merely, that in certain places he was not welcomed. And as far as I could, I made it my business never to send a Jew job-hunting, where I knew that the door was not open to him. There is no need of humiliating anybody.

When I did find a particular door closed, of course I was sorry. Four students I recall especially, Jews all of them, first-class men, devoted to Canada, filled with a zeal for public service, who graduated at various times from this University. A little while back I left my friend of Cambridge days unidentified. I won't identify these young men either. But all of them are working, and *all are working abroad.* All of them either have carved out, or will carve out careers for themselves. But it seems that their abilities are lost to Canada.

These are just instances, in one man's recollection. There must be many more. I personally don't pity the man who must look abroad for his career, for I had to do the same thing—and I am glad of it. But I do, for the sake of Canada, regret their going. For in this generation, because of the problems that face us, and because we give our young men education at a great cost to the State, we can't afford to lose Canadians with trained ability.

Let me go back, in closing, to the point I made when I began this morning—that in the kaleidoscope of Canadian life with its many races and cultures, with its different backgrounds and its diverse creeds, we have an immense asset in the willingness, on the part of a myriad strangers within our gates, to serve Canada.

Working for a generation among all kinds of young men—students—I believe that this is nowhere more certain than in the case of the Jew. But I would go further than this: and here I speak not of the Jews in Canada, but of all Jews everywhere—the sixteen millions of them. I have said that the British Empire stands for certain principles, without which perhaps, the Hebrew race could not survive. None knows this better than the Jew. Now that the British Empire must fight, harder than it has ever fought for all that we call dear and decent, be sure that all the Jews in all the world are for us. And if their need is great—if in ghettoes and concentration camps, on homeless vessels wandering the seas and on the Shanghai waterfront they suffer—their influence for good in the troubled affairs of the nations at this time is also very great.

Chairman: We are indeed grateful to you, Mr. Jackson, for this very timely address you have given us, an I know it has done us all a great deal of good. We pride ourselves on the freedom which the British Empire affords to all its citizens and as citizens of the British Empre it is only our duty, as well as our privilege, to share with other citizens the same privileges we ourselves possess, no matter whether they be Jew or Gentile.

We thank you, Sir, for the personal references you have made. I think they have been most impressive. We thank you because of the picturesque way you have given this address, an I am certain it will go farther than this room in its influence and its power for good. We do want to feel that every citizen in our Dominion of Canada has equal rights with every other citizen.

Thank you very much, Mr. Jackson, for your fine address.

"WAR WITH THE BLINDS DOWN"

An Address by MR. C. H. J. SNIDER

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

December 14, 1939.

Chairman: Gentlemen: It is a distinct honour and pleasure to have with us today, as guest-speaker, Mr. C. H. J. Snider, one of Canada's outstanding journalists and writers. Mr. Snider has just returned from Europe, where he has been special correspondent for the *Evening Telegram,* and he was privileged to be the first Canadian newspaper representative to visit the western battle grounds. Mr. Snider is well known for his keen interest in yachting and sailing, and we are all familiar with his writings on the early history of Canadian ships. His early years were spent before the mast on lake schooners, which provided the background for many articles on nautical subjects that have proved of so much interest to Canadians.

Important events have been recorded by Mr. Snider as a feature of the *Telegram.* To mention a few: the crossing of the Atlantic by the R100, the Coronation, the Disarmament Conference, the events in Germany of 1934, the Easter crisis of 1939, and his recent observations overseas.

During the past year Mr. Snider has had an excellent opportunity of observing at close range the rapidly-changing events in Europe, the tremendous military preparations going forward, and the accomplishment made in such a short time.

We are familiar with the forceful manner in which Mr. Snider has so effectively painted the picture of changing conditions in Great Britain and Europe. Mr. Snider is a Canadian of United Empire Loyalist lineage, his people having come to Canada in 1797. He is at present Associate Editor and one of the Publishers of the Toronto *Evening Telegram.* I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Snider, whose subject is "War with the Blinds Down". (Applause)

Mr. C. H. J. Snider: Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club: These very flattering remarks that have preceded my uprising are happier in their conception and in their result, I trust, than those of which I heard while I was abroad, of a Nazi Chairman who was confronted with the problem of finding a speaker for the opening of a local Beer Hall in Germany. The various authorities of the place, on whom he relied, failed to turn up and someone suggested that Hitler was going to pass through—why not ask him to do it? The Chairman in fear and trembling approached Hitler's suite, and to his great joy and surprise the Fuehrer consented. So the Chairman, breathing hard after the narrow escape he had had from having no one at all, in introducing the distinguished speaker, as he hoped he would be, went on something like this: "Mein Fuehrer, I know very well that Sir Chamberlain and Sir Churchill are all what they are call it, in-listening, and I hope that you shall give them the full ear. Mein Fuehrer, someone less eminent, someone less eloquent, someone less respected, someone less honourable than yourself would have served very well for this auspicious occasion, but believe me, Mein Fuehrer, we searched all through Guzzleheim and we could find no such person!"

Then—as evidence of the thick-headedness of these Germans—the poor Chairman couldn't understand why he woke up in the morgue with his shirt full of Gestapo bullet holes.

This gathering is the result of the invitation of the Empire Club, cabled last April when I was in England on the Easter crisis, asking me to choose my subject and address you upon my return.

It is curious that with all the delay, and the plastic surgery being practised upon the face of the world since then, it has not been necessary to change the title of my intended remarks, "War With the Blinds Down". "War With the Blinds Down" was what I saw in Poland and Danzig and Finland and Holland and Britain last year and last spring, and "War With the Blinds down" is what I have seen in the last three months. I must leave to your opinion whether my eyesight or my insight need corrective lenses.

Neutral profiteers and other cynics might amend my title to "War With the Brakes On". In some of its activities, or lack of activity, the government of this Dominion may have excited such comment. It may not deserve it. I hope the government's deeds will refute it. Certainly the people of Canada do not deserve such a sneer. They are wholeheartedly engaged in a war effort, earnestly as never before, not even in the Great War when sixty thousand Canadians laid down their lives in the belief and the hope that this iniquity would never again be visited upon the earth.

The people of Canada will not tolerate brakes upon their generous zeal in the defense of liberty, their own liberty and the liberty of the world. Nor is the Empire (with the exception of Eire) nor Britain, nor France, nor Poland, nor Finland, holding back one atom of energy in the will to win the war and keep the world a decent place for decent people to live in.

Yet to outsiders it may look as though we were holding back. To their credit I record it, not one Polish refugee whom I have interviewed—and I have seen them from Sikorski, the new President, to whiskered Jews with all they have saved in a red cotton handkerchief—not one of them has hinted at the belief that Britain has pulled her punches or let her little ally down; though we have not yet done one thing to save Poland from being sawn asunder. We didn't because we couldn't. But we are fighting to put the pieces together again.

The war which began four years ago in Abyssinia and Spain has developed into a world affray, but still the world does not quite know who is fighting whom or why. Finland is one belligerent with blinds up, colours flying, bands playing a national anthem of anti-tank and anti-aircraft fire. There is no doubt about Finland's war aims and war enemy. Finland is fighting for her life, says so, and calls on the world to help her.

With equally good cause, and as simple a reason for fighting, we have not made the British position as plain. Half the world half suspects us—wholly falsely—of designs of imperialistic expansion and mercantile monopoly, when the plain truth is we have gone into battle to save ourselves from being robbed and murdered as we have seen others robbed and murdered. Hitlerism has exploited and exploded the League of Nations, asphyxiated Denmark, paralyzed Sweden and Norway, and flung Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the babes of the Baltic, to the Russian bear. Hitlerism has in the last five years robbed and murdered hundreds of thousands of individuals and many nations in Europe—Loyalist Spain, the Jews, the Germans themselves, the Austrians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Poles. To save ourselves from the same fate we have to shoot Hitlerism and shoot to kill.

Our peace aim has to be down the sights of machine guns and it must not miss. When a man sees a malefactor jimmying the nursery window after cutting his neighbour's throat, his duty is to shoot first and explain all about his aim afterwards to the coroner.

Britain's war aims have been nobly and truthfully expressed as to the discountenancing of aggression and the restoration of security for the weak against the strong. They would get more credit with the world if preceded or accompanied by the blasting of every submarine base and minelayer's nest from the shores of the North Sea and of the Baltic, and with TNT, not pamphlets.

This takes some doing and the sooner we do it the better for ourselves and the better for the rest of the world. I know that here we trench on war strategy, wherein the man who pays the shot is notoriously incompetent to do the shooting. Nelson didn't let Napoleon keep him out of the Baltic, although he had a blind eye and only wooden sailboats to take him in. Hitler couldn't keep the Polish destroyers, Lightning, Hurricane and Squall, and the Polish submarines, Eagle and Osprey *in* the Baltic, and I, for one, cannot see why he should be able to keep our navy and air force out. There may be excellent reasons. This blinds-down war leaves us open to the worst misconstructions by our enemies, our honest neighbours, and our own people.

The British navy has done valiantly in the war. In the first two months its convoy system brought three thousand ships into port with the loss of only seven. Of all British ships at sea, ninety-nine per cent reach port safely, whereas of all German ships at sea only one per cent get home. Give our navy full marks for that. We have lost over two thousand sailors without the satisfaction of one fair stand-up fight, until yesterday. The courage and daring of our small, lightly armed cruisers in hounding a heavily gunned pocket battleship into the temporary refuge of a neutral port is beyond all praise. Yet, here again, we suffered from the blinds being down, for the first intimation the world had of this brilliant feat was the bulletin, circulated in the United States, that a great naval battle was taking place off the coast of Uruguay and that the British cruiser Achilles had been damaged. The Admiralty in London gave no confirmation and no information. A spokesman said, "It can be said definitely that there is no truth to reports that the cruiser Achilles has been sunk by a German warship off the Uruguayan coast". If that is not a masterpiece of understatement, bring on the next.

We shall obliterate the German navy, but it takes time. We have only finished a hundred days of war. But, if we must keep out of the Baltic because we are not yet strong enough to go in, and if our merchant ships must run the hazards of bubble mines and magnetic mines and pocket battleships and submarine's torpedoes for another hundred days and another hundred days—then I heartily endorse W. J. Stewart, M.P.P.'s condemnation of sneers at Canada's "tinpot" navy. Whether our navy is nickle-plated or galvanized iron, it is already relieving the overworked British navy of many vital patrol duties. The most effective immediate assistance Canada could give in this war would be to build, equip and man a thousand "tinpot" trawlers and minesweepers and put them to work on our own eastern and western approaches and on the eastern and western approaches to the British Isles.

Behind the blinds of the Chancellories of Europe, five years ago, more than a prayer meeting was going on. When privileged to report the Jubilee of King George the Fifth, in 1935, I was saddened to have to mingle, with my accounts of that great thanksgiving ceremonial, details of instructions to the whole population of Britain on how to provide a gas-proof room for every household. And, if you want to know what the gas business means in England, I have brought along, not a spare lunch, as it looks, but the gas mask I was issued with when I left the shores of Canada on a British ship and which I had to have with me wherever I went in London, because I could not get service of any kind any place without it. While you may believe all your Chairman has said about my charm of character and other things, you really don't know how handsome I am until you have seen me in a gas mask. (Mr. Snider demonstrated the method of wearing the gas mask.)

Another thing I had to report at the time of King George's Jubilee was the new flying fields where bombers would come down all the way from Scotland in three hours and swoop upon imaginary targets like thunderbolts shooting from heaven. Even a newspaperman could see that a great and wholly peace-loving king and people were being forced to defend their lives against undeclared foes while nominally at peace with all the world.

What went on in the last five years, while the ideal of open covenants openly arrived at and openly kept faced from view, is now being brought out by the searchlight of events. And still there is much light to be shed, much darkness to be dissipated.

Who was fighting whom, while the world was filled with the blah of Hitler's anti-comintern protestations, and professions of devotion to the Berlin-Rome axis? While the blinds were down he stabbed and strangled nation after nation until he apparently disgusted Mussolini and attracted Stalin's admiration or envy or both.

What had any of his victims done to him or to Germany? Now who are his enemies, and who are his allies? In which class does Russia stand, and for how long? How near did he come to embroiling Britain with her traditional friends? Does he himself know now whither he will turn? Or has Stalin been the Machiavelli all the time and Hitler his fool? Have we to come to his help? The blinds are still down but the sun is searching through.

When I speak of this war with the blinds down, I do not suggest that Britain has been a willing party to a war in the dark which has scarred Africa, Asia and Europe and wrecked the business of the world. And if she is now fighting a war with the blinds down it is not of choice but of necessity. This war is not of our making—and if we are too proud to admit that we have to fight, we are at least not too proud to do the fighting, even under the handicaps of blackouts.

The effect upon our own people can be judged by a recent illustration in *Picture Post,* an English magazine of the calibre, say, of *Life.* It shows a photograph of a woods so dark only the outline of a few leaves is visible against the sky. But there shines out an imaginary signboard, reading: "Keep out. This is a private war. The War Office, the Admiralty, the Air Ministry, and the Ministry of Information are engaged in a war against the Nazis. They are on no account to be disturbed. Nothing is to be photographed. No one is to come near.

BY ORDER"

Such a notice is entirely fictitious, just a loyal publication's sarcasm over being unable to get or print good British war pictures. If it were true, there woulld still be much to be said in favour of not disturbing the War Office, the Admiralty and the Air Ministry in the prosecution of their arduous and exacting task. But adherence to a blinds-down policy, and encouragement of it by secret sessions of the House of Commons, such as yesterday, damages our cause inside and out. It makes people forget that this war is YOUR business and MY business and THEIR business, a business of life and death for all of us. The sign should read "COME ON IN", not "KEEP OUT". Come on in and hang up your hat and take off your coat.

There are good reasons in Britain for control of volunteer enthusiasm. Patriotism, or the evidence of it, is no longer the patriot's own. The minstrel boy can no longer rush to war with his wild harp slung behind him. Men in soft black hats and striped trousers, uniform of the land army of officials, will tell him: "There is no provision for harpists in the establishment of the musical organizations of the combatant forces. You will have to apply to the entertainment section of the land army reserve, stating (a) Qualifications, (b) Previous service, if any, and (c) Certification of release by the Labour Exchange controlling instrumentalists."

Yet there is hope for the minstrel boy. Noel Coward is in the Admiralty, a hitherto unsuspected Nelson. He arranges entertainments.

Where the fictitious notice does bite and bite hard is in the inclusion of the Ministry of Information in the blackout. This well-intended weapon for winning the war started off with a highly paid staff of 999 admirals, dietitians, missionaries, college professors and others known to Members of Parliament. It collapsed by its own weight of brains. The staff has been cut in two and it functions better than before. It had possibilities and realized some of them. I found it courteous and sometimes helpful, but my first experience of its operation may have prejudiced me against it.

I wanted to send the *Telegram*, by air mail, an account of a funeral at sea. If I had cabled it I would have submitted it to the censorship directly and in thirty minutes it would have been cleared and in Toronto. The censorship in the United Kingdom is eminently fair, gives immediate decisions, will telephone you if there is anything which cannot be passed and will even suggest amendments which would be acceptable. For the censorship in Canada to pass upon what has already been passed by the censorship of Britain is a sheer superfluity. Well, air mail stories had to go through the Ministry of Information, and so to the Ministry of Information I went with mine.

"You have to have a pass to enter the building", I was told. I got a pass to the Ministry, through the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the Empire Press Union.

I showed this pass to a uniformed Commissionaire. He waved me through the portals of a building, larger than the Canada Life on University Avenue, which the Ministry had pre-empted. A group of uniformed bell-boys met me within. They passed me on to an exceedingly polite group of press liaison officers. One listened sympathetically to my requirements and volunteered to conduct me to the censorship department. Here another exceedingly polite gentleman told me the regular censorship officer had gone for the day. I explained that the air mail would close within twelve hours, and in these special circumstances he volunteered to have my despatch read this same evening. After keeping it for half an hour he returned and said there was nothing objectionable in it, and that the department would see that it was mailed, as I had brought along the necessary stamped and addressed air mail envelope. He sealed the envelope and affixed a sticker marked "Passed by the Censor". I repeated the necessity of it getting into the air mail then closing, and he insisted that the Ministry could and would see that this was done. So, with some hesitation I left it with him. It reached Toronto all right, —two weeks later. It should have taken two days at most. Hence my glowing tribute to the air mail, the postal service and the Ministry of Information.

I regret to report I still have several things I would like to say if I have time.

I heard the declaration of war as I eavesdropped in the twilight of seven o'clock Sunday morning, September 3rd, outside a little home someone had built away up Dufferin Street, past the flying fields, to escape city taxes. There was Mr. Chamberlain's deep rumble from over the seas, and then a child's high-pitched question, "Daddy, what does that mean?" the father answered, "It means we have to help."

So I consulted my fellow Trustees in the *Telegram,* Messrs. C. O. Knowles, Douglas Robertson and A. T. Chadwick, whom you have so graciously invited to give me countenance this day, and with their approval I started on a double mission. First, to help England in any way possible; probably by carrying one end of a stretcher, for I knew that with the first air raids they expected terrific casualties in London. And, second, to help *Telegram* readers by reporting what could be reported and interpreting what could be interpreted.

I say without boasting, and with profound respect for our valued readers, that we all put the idea of helping England first. Lloyds would not at this time risk their pounds against my life and Mr. Chadwick's dollars. I had to travel without insurance. I tried for an air passage but found they were booked to past the end of the month. I had two offers of American steamers, but I have the feeling that if I must drown I would rather drown in company with fellow Britons than in the company of however desirable neutrals. So I got to England as fast as I could in the first British ship out of Canada.

I found London in pitch darkness, but not in ruins. I must confess to a little disappointment, for after screwing one's courage up to face torpedoes and mines and bombs for three weeks, on the water, one would like to have something to show for it on the land. Yet I am not ashamed to say that I thanked God on my knees that here had been, so far, no use for the extensive preparations which had been made for evacuating the Capital and for caring for casualties by the hundred thousand. That need may come tomorrow, but I pray, as we all pray, that it will never come.

There were abundant evidences of Britain at war as never before. The great station where I arrived was so dark one could not distinguish faces. There were no porters or red-caps. We had to find our baggage as best we could in what is called the luggage van, and get it out for ourselves, and then capture taximen in the dark and get it loaded. I had brought some flashlights along, and with these did my first, and I am afraid almost my best war work, as an amateur red-cap and baggage smasher.

All that could be seen of London streets that first night was that the walls were still standing. Every building seemed utterly deserted. Lights gleamed from none. Canada's Chief Trade Commissioner, who had crossed with me, was overjoyed to find that his Department, from which he had not heard for three weeks, had not been evacuated. My accustomed hotel, usually crowded, was half empty. There was as much formality about registration as there had been when I was in Germany last April.

I had to produce my passport and fill in blanks for the police, and another form for the national registration and another for my ration book.

All the curtains in all the rooms were heavy and closely pinned together so that not one ray of light could escape. There were notices about not discussing anything which might be of national importance, and red arrows pointing in all directions but upwards.

My nightcap from the Management was this notice in red ink:

> “AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS”
>
> “In event of an air raid warning, please obey the following instructions: Switch off all lights and proceed to the refuges in basement by following indicating arrows, painted red.”

This was almost as helpful towards a good night’s rest as the red arrows would have been towards showing the way in the dark.

By day I found London one great, trenched, sandbagged and unarmed camp. There were sandbags everywhere, from the roof of Canada House and the tombs in Westminster Abbey to the first storey of every police station. All sorts of sandbag erections were on the sidewalks and sometimes in the streets. There were air raid shelters, it seemed, every hundred yards, some in parks where trenches had been dug and concreted, some under arches and subways, but the great majority just the basements or store-rooms of business houses.

Overhead were dozens of shining silver blimps from which dangled wires for the confusion of enemy aircraft. These are the same floating air armada used to protect the naval base at the Firth of Forth and elsewhere. The blimps were anchored to tow-trucks. Sometimes they were so high they were invisible above the clouds, and their mooring wires stood up in great sweeping curves from the truck ends, vanishing into thin air like the Indian rope trick.

Lots of these sausages and sandbags, but no children and few soldiers, at first glance. Plenty of policemen and air wardens and firemen in steel helmets, and army girls in soft caps and smart patch-pocketed tunics. But no ruins, and not a scar of shrapnel newer than the marks on Nelson's column and Cleopatra's needle which came a quarter of a century ago.

All the great hospitals had been emptied of their patients and manned with emergency staffs to handle 150,000 air raid casualties. They were ready but idle. On the sidings of the railways emergency hospital trains stood, night and day, waiting for the wounded. Throughout the country great hotels had been gutted of their guests on a day's notice and yawned, empty, in every town, waiting for the thousands of civil servants who would have to be accommodated if London were abandoned. It was hard on the guests, many of them semi-invalids, who had thus lost their homes without warning, and hard on the proprietors of the hotels because they are still empty.

One million two hundred thousand women and children had been carried out of London and placed in private homes all over the country, to save them from the Huns—who haven't come yet. The Huns haven't come because they can't get through. As far as the Air Force's part goes, the blinds drawn in this war have been bomb-proof steel shutters. Still, I don't like the blackouts. I don't think them necessary, like the complete cutting out of weather reports, but they are the Air Force's insistent stipulation, and the Air Force has provided such perfect defense so far that I believe they should have their choice of tools.

At sunset London vanished as though swallowed by the earth. The only illumination was the tiny slits where crosses had been scratched over the face of the red and green traffic lights. In the underground railways you might be in such darkness that you could not see the people crowded beside you and you could not read the station names. I never fathomed why the lights had to be turned out one or two hundred feet below the surface, but they were. The buses were as black as the underground at first. Both have improved, or my eyesight has grown more catlike.

At Canada House I found that thousands of other Canadians had also rushed to save the heart of the Empire.

They registered, as I registered, for any work that required doing. They found that Britain's requirements were (a) Airmen, (b) Young soldiers, (c) Technical experts, from cooks to colloidal analysts. But the volunteer, willing to do anything but fit to do nothing in particular and do it very well (like me) was a drug on the market. Stretcher-bearers, firemen, first aiders, ambulance drivers, pick and shovel men, had loyally enlisted in thousands, and no one had actually been needed. Britain was paying $185,000,000 a year for air raid precautions. It did not seem fair for me to take the £2 or £3 a week paid for the various jobs, and it did not seem fair to oust a man already holding one, for I learned that A.R.P. employment was all that stood between thousands and a bread-line, already made up of a million and a half unemployed.

Being unable to connect with a wheelbarrow, I turned to my typewriter. This took me to France, and so the *Telegram* was the first Canadian newspaper personally represented on the Western Front.

No other individual Canadian paper has been there yet. We had to run the gauntlet, so to speak, to do it, for the day I crossed, shells were dropped near our steamer. We weren't being bombed; it was a German plane, invisible to us in the fog, being potted by the Dunkerque anti-aircraft batteries. What goes up has to come down, of course, but what didn't hit the Hun came down near to our ship. At the time it looked just as deadly as though it had been aimed at us, but when we learned—a week later—what it was, we were of course much relieved. The Nazi plane was brought down, with its pilot dead, and three men were picked up by a Dutch steamer, clinging to the wreckage in the sea.

I had seen Britons marching off to battle. No banners waving, bands playing, handkerchiefs aflutter, cheering thousands, Rule Britannia, Land of Hope and Glory, and The Girl I Left Behind Me. The only march music I heard in England was a company whistler once on the London streets, whistling Marching Through Georgia. Never any music at all for the troops marching away. Just the crump-crump-crump of new boots in the new threes in the new blackouts; a short column finding its way to the quayside of an unnamed port; small groups going over the gangway, and the lightless, unnamed Channel steamer pushing off into the dark or the day. That is the way a quarter of a million men with 25 or 30,000 motor vehicles have been landed in France and fitted into the fighting line from the Maginot to the sea, without one casualty. Unpicturesque, unprecedented.

Well, I saw them, too, when I got to France. There were guardsmen of famous regiments with battle honours strung across three centuries, lionlike men of Moab. And Highlanders unrecognizable in linemen's overalls. (Ian Hay tells me if you go into a tank in a kilt you'll come out like Adam without his fig leaf.) Boys who had lied about their age and were being sent home.

All keen to clean this thing up if it took their lifetime or their lives. All comfortable, even in the rain and mud which is the reality of sunny France, for they were well fed and well housed, in dry billets, not in leaky dugouts or dripping trenches. The trenches are there, and these boys have put them there, and they hold them, but the country all around is inhabited. They are going to keep it habitable.

In France, even within sound of the firing, people moved about with less preoccupation about the war than in England, although I must emphasize the fact that for cheerful level-headed courage the people of Britain are second to none. It must be remembered that Britain has not been invaded since 1066, while France has had war or invasion in practically each generation. Invasion of Britain seems something as monstrous as an earthquake or a tidal wave. The tremendous preparations against an evil which has not yet come—and may it never come!—have not panicked these brave British folk in the slightest degree. Their greatest concern is how they will pay their heavily increased income taxes out of their greatly decreased incomes.

Announcement just this week that the British had taken over a section of the fighting line was literally true, but like so much else that has been done and left undone in our publicity, it understated the case. A month ago in France they were telling me of a surprise visit Gamelin had made to a British Battalion headquarters up front. He was received with all courtesy and entertained at an active service dinner. Everything went wrong from the standpoint of his hosts. The cook had just been changed, some thing had happened to the rations, the beef was tough as sole leather and baked like a brick, one course after another was a failure. This was exceptionally bad luck, for normally the front line rations are up to the Royal York standards, as I experienced for myself. Finally the coffee was served, and it was even worse than French coffee, which seems all chicory. The Colonel had been apologizing throughout the meal but when it came to this coffee, words failed him. But Gamelin, the perfect guest, put all the officers at their ease. "Mes amis," said he, "Soldiers need never apologize to soldiers for the vicissitudes and hardships of service. I shall evaire lick my lips in remembrance of this crowning item of our fraternal feast. Nevaire in my life have I tasted such delicious tea, for which, as is well known, the English are famous the world ovaire."

You see this brasard? Rather neat badge for the newspaper correspondent, don't you think? Black and white, like the *Telegram,* and like the *Telegram,* read all over; and not like some other papers, red under the skin.

Well, it is still part of the obligation that goes with this brassard not to mention names of places, nor particular units nor troop dispositions. I can, without being false to my trust, name the historic spot where I saw the British and French lines meet.

It was marked by a French pub. The name translated would be in Canada, "The Hired Man's Hotel"; in England, "The Harvester's Arms". There are thousands of beverage rooms so named between the English Channel and the Pyrenees, so I am not betraying information of use to the enemy.

That name just makes me think. Before I came down here a lady telephoned me at the office and asked my assistant if Mr. Snider would speak before or after the luncheon, and my assistant said that he understood the practice was for the speaker to speak after the meal, and he thought that would be carried out. "O, dear," she said, "I am so very sorry, because you know what these luncheon Clubs are". With no reference to the Empire Club, of course.

Well, to get back to the story. The lines do not intersect exactly at the estaminet's bar—perhaps because the French beer is poor stuff as compared to the English, though cheaper. The trenches are a few hundred yards apart, but overlap, and you could not tell one from the other, so similar are they in construction.

Without delay—before the war has yet started, if we are to accept one school of thought in England—the Allied Command has been so completely unified that everything from trade to trenches is interchangeable. Gamelin is the Generalissimo. Gort has placed the British Expeditionary Force exactly where Gamelin wants it. Sound strategy and diplomacy alike. Similarly, the British and French Air Forces are interchangeable and in full co-operation, and the French navy takes up where the British navy leaves off.

In England many say the war has not yet begun. Others think it may never get past its present stage, that Hitler is cornered, militarily, politically and economically. Some expect that a frantic spasm, such as mass air attacks upon open cities, or sending the whole German fleet out raiding land and sea, or falling upon some neutral like Rumania, Holland, Belgium, or Denmark, will indicate Germany's collapse. Many soldiers think the war will go east, aimed at India. Others expect we shall be soon called upon to save Germany from the Reds.

Let us save Britain first. I am too old to prophesy anything about the war, except that we shall win it. History teaches me that the British always win the last battle, and my immediate observation shows me that Britain was never so well organized for victory as now. (Applause)

My diffident, and, I hope, superfluous plea is, let us not in Canada discourage war effort or delay the victory by pulling down the blinds unnecessarily, or heaping organization upon organization, not for the sake of efficiency, but for the sake of gaining or multiplying places on the public payroll. (Hearty applause)

Chairman: May I be your Press Agent for the minute, Mr. Snider? Your stirring, descriptive and humorous words have moved us to a deeper appreciation of the preparations, the effort that Great Britain and the Empire are putting forth in this second Great War, and the effectiveness of those preparations. We are indebted to your journal and to you, Mr. Snider, for the excellent accounts that we receive of the events overseas, notwithstanding the many difficulties that you have encountered by those blinds down.

We thank you most heartily, Mr. Snider, for your splendid talk, and we greatly appreciate your kindness, in finding time out of the busy life that a newspaper editor leads in these days, to come to us today, and on behalf of the Members of the Empire Club, I extend to you our cordial thanks and appreciation for the excellent address that you have given us today. (Applause)

"RETROSPECT AND PROPHECY"

AN ADDRESS BY

RIGHT HONOURABLE R. B. BENNETT,
P.C., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

Thursday, December 21, 1939

A Joint Meeting of The Canadian Club and the Empire Club of Canada was held in the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, on Thursday, December 21, 1939. Professor Norman A. M. MacKenzie, President of the Canadian Club, presided.

PROFESSOR MACKENZIE: Mr. Bennett's presence with us today is in the nature of an unexpected Christmas gift for which we are duly thankful. (Applause) When Mr. Bennett announced, not so long ago that he was leaving Canada, a great many of us were somewhat disappointed and even regretful, because Mr. Bennett is a great Canadian. (Applause) There are all too few Great Canadians for us to spare even one. When I say "great Canadian" I mean it, not only in the sense of his distinguished record, but in the sense that I know no other Canadian in public life who has made such personal sacrifices for Canada, without regard to his own welfare or interest, as Mr. Bennett has done. (Applause) I wondered at the time he left why he left. True, I did not see the report that he was kissed by all of the Co-Eds in my old College, Dalhousie University, and I can assure you, Gentlemen, that that prospect would tempt the strongest among us to come back again. I suspect, however, that it was because Mr. Bennett believes in and loves the Empire so much, the Empire of which Canada is a part, and he believed that he could best make his contribution to that Empire and to Canada that he decided he would reside in the United Kingdom. My regrets were tempered, too, by my conviction that Mr. Bennett couldn't stay away from Canada very long, particularly if there was work to do. The war has brought that work and Mr. Bennett, as in the last war, is giving to that work all his very distinguished talents. For that, too, we are grateful.

So, Mr. Bennett, the Members of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club are grateful to you for coming to us at this time, for agreeing to give us a report on the conditions abroad in the world today. Gentlemen—the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett. (Loud applause)

RIGHT HONOURABLE R. B. BENNETT, P.C., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.: Mr. President, Your Honour, Distinguished Guests, and Gentlemen: Your Chairman has made some references to the causes that induced me to take up my residence in the United Kingdom. I think perhaps I should relieve you of any further curiosity in that regard. I use the word curiosity, as distinguished from interest, for the manifestations of your interest were all too clear. The truth is that I had a bit of trouble with my heart and I had to retire from very active work and, to be very truthful with you, found it impossible to remain in this country and not be worried to death, so I had to seek some other place to live. I found it incompatible with my general viewpoint to remain on this continent, so I decided to go to England. That is the story.

It is very fitting that we should meet here today with the Empire Club and the Canadian Club for, after all, there has never been a moment, in my judgment, from the days of Elizabeth when Canadians were more concerned about the British Empire, or when its fate and destiny were more in the balance than at this time. That is a strong statement and yet I believe it to be a true statement. The fact is that the people of the Motherland number about 44 million, and that the white population of the British Empire is about 70 millions of people. We govern a quarter of the world's population, inhabiting a quarter of its area, and I trust I might not be guilty of exaggeration when I say we are and have been the bulwark of Christian civilization. Gentlemen, our civilization has been built up slowly, patiently, laboriously.

If you young men desire to interest yourselves in something that will really interest you during the long winter evenings, read something of the course of the development of civilization, of the forces, at least, of ancient countries, of Babylon, of Egypt, of Greece, and Rome, and then realize that they reached the summit of their greatness and disappeared, leaving behind them the legacies to all mankind that we so much enjoy. We have survived. The British Empire has survived, and why? Shall we become one with Ninevah and Tyre, in the words of Kipling, or shall we continue to survive and continue to pay, or, shall I say, make our contribution to the history of the world? We are a Christian civilization, although the non-Christians outnumber Christians in the world and in the British Empire, it is needless for me to say to you, there are more non-Christians than Christians. Yet, the Christian thought or concept has dominated the civilization of the world and that has not been by reason of force being applied to compel people to accept it.

You remember that 250 years ago, the King of Poland swept down to Vienna to save the Christian civilization of that area against the onslaught of the alien. Prussia was too busy about something else, too concerned about something else, and it remained for the Poles of that day, 250 years ago, to make that contribution to Christian civilization. That doesn't explain why our civilization, our Christian civilization has survived. If I am right in believing that this Empire is the bulwark of that civilization I look for something further. I look for the reason why we have survived in the justice that we have given to the peoples that we have governed; acquired great territory, whether by settlement or conquest, or by discovery, wherever we have gone, we have done one thing. We have always treated the people as trustees. Our obligations have been obligations of trustees and we have endeavoured to lead them up to the time when they would govern themselves.

Look back upon your history of our own country, and the great nations where our flag flies. They are nations now—and the great Crown Colonies, the vast Dominions. You will find in every instance it is because we have endeavoured to create conditions under which people by discipline and self-restraint would govern themselves and make their own institutions and their own laws. That is the proud history of those who left the shores of the little island in the North Sea and planted colonies in remote parts of the world, and today have reaped and are reaping the reward of their confidence and their faith and their courage when their sons and daughters come back home to give their help and assistance to the descendents of those pioneers.

Hence it was you had yesterday and the day before, and every day this week, rejoicing at the arrival of the Canadian Contingent. That arrival signifies something more than the mere arrival of troops to assist in a great war. It indicates that the great principles of justice, liberty, and the rule of law and reason have dominated the thoughts of men in this part of the world, and when the moment came that civilization was threatened, they responded with all the power and strength in their command, to do their bit for the descendents of the pioneers who left those shores and planted their institutions in the far-off parts of the world. That is the reason.

So, today, we have been challenged—challenged as never before. The challenge has come from the great powers, Russia and Germany, a challenge to our civilization, to our Christian civilizaton. The challenge has come to us in terms that we cannot disregard, and the test of any civilization or any conviction is always found in the response that men give when they accept that challenge. We have accepted the challenge. We, the British Empire, have accepted the challenge because there was nothing for us to do or abandon the civilization we have built. That is the real issue. That is the reason why I am so deeply concerned, and you are, about all that has to do with the conduct of this great war.

I shall never forget that Sunday morning when Mr. Chamberlain made the declaration of war. There are many people who say, "Why should we fight for Poland? What interest have we in Poland?" Poland is but an incident. The issue, as I have said, is the challenge to a

Christian civilization and the defence of Poland and of our own civilization happily coincide. That is the real reason. When on that Sunday morning Mr. Chamberlain made the declaration of war it was a sober people that received it. It was a serious people that received it for they realized—by some strange process that one cannot describe the change came over them during the last week of August and it was quite clear to everyone that war was inevitable. Serious minded young men and elderly men, going about their work realized that this was a conflict, a conflict of all the ages, so far as civilization was concerned. The non-Christian Russia and the Germany endeavouring to destroy Christianity, these two forces were forces which if they prevailed would spell the end of that civilization.

Men, no more serious matter ever engaged the attention of a free people. Freedom is something that men and nations little realize until they have lost it, and liberty we in Canada enjoy to such an extent that sometimes it degenerates into license, and we have little appreciation of the restraints that are necessary to maintain liberty, because restraints are the price you pay for liberty. There can be no real liberty without restraint. That, I think, we must all keep in mind. You saw the evidence that morning and the succeeding days among these people. Serious, determined, realizing the magnitude of the task which they had undertaken, they at once devoted all their energies to the defence of the civilization which was at issue—in the navy, the army, the air.

Of the navy, it is only necessary to say that the slackening of effort that came about when we endeavoured to disarm left Britain short of four or five capital ships. It is no secret, it has been said frequently by Admirals of the Fleet, and those able to speak in the last few weeks, that we were short of capital ships. We were short of cruisers. Britain is adding to her sea strength one war vessel a week now. It may be a destroyer, it may be a cruiser, it may be the reconditioning of a great battle ship. This navy that has protected us and enabled us to sell our products in the markets of the world, keep the great sea routes open that we might sail in safety on the seven seas, this fleet has cost millions and hundreds of millions of pounds.

When the call came as it did on that Sunday morning, they had all arranged the places that would be taken up as their battle stations, and from that moment until this, their supreme purpose has been to make safe the sea routes, to protect the island from attack, and to see to it that the enemy is located. That in itself is a great task. Imagine what it means for a ship to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Four great liners with the first great Division went from here, there was the defence of it with the enemy ever watchful, desiring to destroy it.

What is true of this is true of every part of the Kingdom, the East Coast, the Channel. There are the submarines, the mine sweepers and added to that, the merchant marine. We have lost 400,000 tons of shipping since the war began. Yet, with the new ships consequently launched, some being acquired by force from the enemy, today there are 21 million tons of British shipping on the sea, just as there was 21 million tons the day the war began.

But I sometimes wonder if my fellow-Canadians realize the extent to which those islands are dependent on transport for their existence. I was at a meeting in a man's home one afternoon and to my surprise, the gentleman presiding, speaking on behalf of the Merchant Marine, said, "It is necessary for us to import 100,000 tons of commodities per day". I said to him afterward, "Is that accurate? Did you mean that?" He said, "Just that." Well, now, men, did you ever think what that means in terms of ships? Did you ever think what that means in keeping the sea routes open and safe, that men may be fed and clothed, and that troops may be trained and, in the cold-blooded material side, that we may find a market for our wheat, or our bacon? The bacon growing on your farms, you know, isn't very much unless you can sell it. The one customer we have to buy it is the United Kingdom, and how does it get there? It gets there because the strong right arm of the navy protects the ships that carry it across the Atlantic Ocean. (Applause)

I would like to say that no word of mine can adequately express the appreciation that is held by every man, woman and child with whom you come in contact in the Old Land for those who go down to the sea in ships and do business among the great waters. Their courage is beyond all words and it is not the navy alone that has given such a magnificent report of itself during the last week, but the merchant marine, the people enduring the hardships of mine-sweeping, patiently trying to make the channels safe. All these men should have from us our warmest commendation and support and anything we in this far-off country can do to improve their lot we should do, gladly and proudly, because they make it possible for us to be solvent at a time such as this.

About the army I have only to say this. They moved 158,000 men across the channel without the loss of a single person, or an injury to a man, and all the mechanized machinery, the heavy artillery and guns. It was quietly done, no one knew it was being done until it had been done, quietly and calmly. The number has been increased greatly. Aeroplanes have been flown, as I shall presently indicate, and the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces is of the opinion, which is shared by those well able to speak with authority, that this is as fine an army as ever left the shores of England. I can only say this to you, Gentlemen, when you look upon the faces of these younger men, see their fine bearing, see there the evidences of their grim determination, you realize it is not an adventure, but the performance of a sacred duty they believe rests upon them, the children of the children's children that made equal sacrifices in days long since past. That spirit is so fine.

As a Canadian I was struck with one thing more than all others. That was the method of calling men to the colours. England has never believed in standing armies since the days of Cromwell, and it is a word I dislike—the word Conscription, because it is a nasty word, connected with conscription in the days of Imperial Lords, but for lack of a better one we sometimes use it. They passed a Military Service Act in Great Britain, by which men could be called up in time of peace to serve in the army, for the first time since the days of Cromwell. When that was done, the orderly manner in which these men were called up would have met with your warm approval.

What happened? A proclamation was issued that a class of men between given ages would be called to the colours, and that they would register on a given date, and they registered. They didn't seek excuses not to, but they registered because they were within that age. They obeyed the proclamation with pleasure and pride and made no apologies in an endeavour to escape. There were conscientious objectors, of course. They set up tribunals to deal with them. Some were conscientious when they started and before the hearing had finished they had concluded that conscience bade them attach themselves to a regiment, and they did. They went into uniform, quietly and calmly, rich and poor, peer and peasant. I said the other day, and one of the newspapers commented on the fact, the richest Earl of England found himself going to the depot with the village barber. Equality of service and of sacrifice—that is all.

And the choice of classes was done with great care so as not to disrupt industry, if at all possible, and if it could be done, insure the continuance of the supply of munitions.

Now, that struck me as a most remarkable thing in this great effort—equality of service and of sacrifice. I need hardly say to you, my fellow-Canadians, on the Statute Books of this country, since the days of Confederation, there is a provision for the calling, *en masse,* of men of 19 to 45. It was placed there by the genius of Sir George Cartier, and continued on our Statute Books, and in the days of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Minister of Justice, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick was in charge of the measure, so we have not been unmindful of the fact that there might be a time when it would be necessary for us to share equality of sacrifice and service.

Then there came the question of what some friends of mine in Canada used to describe as "Conscription of wealth". Ever hear that word? Well, the British Government was confronted with a task involving an expenditure to which I shall presently refer, and it became necessary to get money. Therefore, they took it out of the people by taxation. When I say to you that the taxes are so high that in some cases a man has thirty cents left out of a pound, a shilling and a half—and that my small income involves a payment of between seventy-three and seventy-five cents out of every dollar, you will understand how England meets war. That is how wealth is conscripted. That is how the appeal is made for equality of service and sacrifice on one hand and of wealth on the other. (Applause)

I remember one of the richest men in England saying to me that he didn't think he would have more than something like fifty cents, converted into our money, left out of his income after paying his taxes that year. Now, that gives an idea of what I have in mind.

So much for preparation with respect to navy and with respect to our army. Then you come to the new arm with which the people are defending themselves, and that has never been used to the same extent in days gone by—the air. Well, there is one thing about it, Britons have demonstrated, as have men from Canada, Australia and New Zealand, that in the air they have no peer, and today they feel completely masters of their enemies in the air.

Of course there is another side to that. That is the question of supply of machines and that has dragged a bit. It has been delayed a bit, but nothing, I am told, filled our enemies with greater fear than when some weeks ago they read that the British Empire had combined together to train a line of pilots in Canada, by which there will be a continuous flow of trained men to see to it that we could not only defend our positions on the shores of England and the United Kingdom and Canada, if need be, but also that we could express our superiority by successful combat with our enemies in the air. Nothing is more important than a continuous flow of trained men, not a spasmodic but a continuous flow, and there is no part of all the world that is near Great Britain that is nearly as good for training as Canada. These blue skies and great distances make it a very simple thing, as compared to an effort to train in poor old England, where you have a long line of towns. Really, that is all it is going up to Midland, a long line of towns, and you cannot train men as you should in the air if you have underneath, these towns and these villages, because it makes it very dangerous for those who live in them and very difficult for those being trained. So we make it a matter of great rejoicing that we have combined, at last, as an Empire. (Applause and laughter)

(I confess I am not conscious of having said anything that should meet with such warm approval. I hope you are not laughing at me, because I assure you, to me that is no laughing matter.)

I was told by one who had recently been in Germany that when that was published it had as profound an effect upon the German mentality as anything that had happened in the early days of the war.

I do not know when the flow will begin but all I can say is that nothing must stand in the way of it, in order that we may secure victory by a continuous flow of trained men from this country, not from Canada alone, but from every part of the British Empire, and probably in the end fly the machines across the Atlantic Ocean. You can see how important that might be if the enemy attacked with thousands of machines. It would be a great thing to have a reserve behind in Canada to fly across the Atlantic and take the appropriate action.

Gentlemen, some of our Canadians have made great contributions. I think perhaps you little realize what magnificent pilots our Canadians have been. We had Bishop and Barker in the last war, of course and all their magnificent achievements, but the men who quietly have been joining the Royal Air Force during the last six months, and in the last year, have made a magnificent contribution. You go and ask anyone connected with the Britsh Air Force and they will tell you how magnificent Canadians have been, and out of compliment to them and to their number the British Government have recently created a Canadian Squadron. It is a Canadian Squadron, paid for by the British taxpayer. That is only incidental. They have done that out of compliment to what Canadians have done in that Air Force and the Canadian Squadron are Canadians who have enlisted with the Royal Air Force, Britain providing the machines and uniforms and the pay, as they did in the Boer War. So much for that, without going into details.

Gentlemen, it is essential that there should be no shortage of machines as well as of men. It is not for me to say how many machines the enemy has. A distinguished American three weeks after finishing his tour in Germany, estimated a very vast number—I will not mention it to you because it seems so large—at the beginning of the struggle. I can say to you in perfect frankness that the production of machines in France in August was very small. It has now gone up to a considerable number. In Great Britain the production was very limited. That is the reason they were looking overseas for supplies and machines, but today, I think I could say, without being regarded as having violated any censorship or any Act regarding secrecy, that there is no doubt in the month of November they were making over a thousand machines in Great Britain. That number is going up so rapidly that it is almost incredible what will be produced in the next few months and they are the best machines in the world. (Applause) The facilities with which they have been operated and flown and the victories that they have achieved are best illustrated by the false statements made by the enemy as to the result of those conflicts.

The Navy, too, has its own Air Force now. The Navy for many years has been struggling to get its own Air Force and it now has its own Air Force, as distinguished from the Royal Air Force and that has, of course, contributed greatly to the defence operations of the fleet.

Now, Gentlemen, how much do you think is involved in this? I have indicated just roughly some of these things, because I would like you to get something in your mind about it.

About munitions. Never since Britain has been engaged in a war has she been as well supplied with munitions as today. Never. At the peak of her production in the great war it wasn't equal to what it now is. That is what has been going on. Factories everywhere are manufacturing munitions—a munition plant here, another there. Industry is turned into the production of munitions of all kinds. That has been going on steadily and continuously, and the zeal and enthusiasm with which men work! What do they care for overtime as long as they may save their beloved land from attack, and defend their rights and liberties! They ask nothing better than the chance to do it. So they are taken from the army—skilled men are not allowed to enlist. Everything is being done by methods suggested for the purpose of securing the production of munitions.

I can only tell you this, in great guns, in the air defence guns, in rifles, in Bren guns, in everything that is to enable men to fight, the supplies are beyond all description. But, Men, it all costs money. How much do you think Britain is spending a day? For the last two weeks before I left (there is no relation to the two things) the expenditure was £6,000,000 an incredible thing that such a sum as that could be spent, but it is being done and the result, of course, is what I have indicated. So much for that, and that phase of it.

But, Gentlemen, taxation alone will not do it. Money must be borrowed and the British people are not as wealthy as they were at the beginning of the war of 1914. They had a dead weight then of £620,000,000 and they now have one of £8,000,000,000. They have taxed themselves to an extent that you little understand over here. Then, they have resorted necessarily to one other means of defence, and that is to do what I have described in the economic situation. They have blockaded the enemy's ports. They have prevented supplies reaching the enemy. Now, and then you find some snivelling person going around saying, "Why deny women and children the right to get enough to eat? You might just as well kill them." Ever since civilization began blockade has been one of the means of bringing defeat to the enemy, and it is essential that we should maintain blockades against the enemy. But there has been resistance against the people blockading them and it has been a great task. It is 400 miles across from Kirkwall to Norway in the North Sea, and there is the narrow Channel. All these ships must be there to blockade and prevent essential supplies reaching the enemy. Don't for a moment be misled. Germany is well supplied with many things. She has food for a year, rationed as it is. She has supplies of copper and of zinc and of lead, beyond reasonable computation. These things were laid away long months and months ago, but we are blockading and will continue to blockade. If the declaration of the Government can be taken as meaning exactly what they have said, we will blockade these things for the purpose of preventing them being able to produce the kind of materials that are essential for the purposes of maintaining war.

Recently, owing to the strewing of mines heedlessly among the seas, we had two hundred mines thrown up against the shores of England, floating loosely, the week I came away. These things we have met with the reprisal that international law accepts, namely, the attack against the exports of the warring country. That enables me to say something I wish to say to you very clearly. How can you help England in this situation? England can only get money with which to carry on by taxation, and she can only pay Canadians in Canadian dollars, and Americans in American dollars, if she is able to sell to Canadians and to Americans, goods which she produces, in order that she may have the dollars with which to pay, for international trade, as we understand it, is a thing of the past. When we had a balance cheque, one against the other, on Japan and Canada, the United States and Canada, and so on, it was a simple thing. Now, there is no such thing as international trade in the broad sense, and if we buy British to the fullest extent possible, we have made it possible for Britain to buy supplies from us.

Why is it? Why is it, my friends, that you found Argentine selling our wheat and our meat? Why? Because the only way in which the interest can be paid to the British who have their investments in Argentine is by their selling their products there and producing the money to do it. That is the reason, and I say to you, in all sincerity, that it is of the utmost importance that we should, whenever we can, when we are buying abroad, buy British goods, in order that we may be able to supply them with what they want from us and they can pay for them.

Now, one step more. This is a very delicate thing I am going to touch upon. Many of you gentlemen here are business men. You are business men of great reputation. We are living side by side with 140 millions of people and the commodity balance against us has always been very great. But the civilization we are endeavouring to preserve is the same civilization as they enjoy and they are deeply interested, Gentlemen, in my judgment, in our being able to succeed in this great conflict. Well, the other day I was in New York, and I have a habit sometimes, of going into large offices for the purposes of seeing how Canadian securities are regarded. I picked up the daily issue of one of their financial papers and I looked up International Nickel. Well, it is not the kind of security to buy down in the United States. They say, owing to taxation and exchange difficulties, though this Canadian company is well managed and has got some money, we cannot recommend this either for investment or speculation to Americans. And I could give the names of three or four more, one after another.

Go and look at them, some of you newspaper men, and see what they say about your country's credit, and what they say about the kind of securities we are creating in this country.

Now, I hope my voice will reach some of you business men. Suppose you get a bit busy here and ask yourselves this question. The paper mill is Wisconsin, that is living on the pulpwood sent from Ontario is a fine investment, but if it is up here producing newsprint from Canadian wood, you had better look out about it. Are you going to stand that? I just leave that thought with you. If they didn't have the 400,000 cords of wood from this Province, there wouldn't be any industry down in Wisconsin, and if there is going to be an industry in Wisconsin in Canadian wood, suppose you say a kind word about what Canadians are doing in defence of civilization you are interested in.

Business men, this is a crisis in which you ought to make yourselves felt, and make your influence felt and make it known to our great friends. The credit of this country should not be lightly attacked and destroyed. An insurance company should not be compelled to make all its investments in securities of a particular country because they do business there. We have not been that kind of people. Neither has Great Britain, and in our time of peril, when the things we hold most dear are threatened, and they are common to you and you enjoy them as well as we, you are as interested as we are—give us a hand, give us a hand. (Applause)

In making that observation, I wish to say that I do it in no censorious spirit. I do it as a Canadian. I do it as a Britisher. I do it because I believe wth all my heart that unless we win this great conflict, that Christian civilization, for which we have stood, is no safer on this continent than it is in Europe.

I want you to get that clearly in your mind. I know that a ship off Halifax in the last war was destroyed by a German mine. It is not so far across the Atlantic Ocean now, as aeroplanes fly, and I wouldn't be surprised if within the next few months you may have reason to believe that the Atlantic Ocean can easily be crossed—by enemies.

Now, my friends, Canadians have discharged and performed great tasks. There is nothing that they have been asked to do that they have ever failed to do. There is nothing they will ever fail to do that they are asked to do that involves the defence of the Christian civilization. We have to decide—we have decided. There used to be three avenues down which we could walk. They are now narrowed into two, and we have chosen of our own free will that we will march with our own people within our own Empire, and we have chosen so to do, and every Canadian is proud of the fact that our Parliament unanimously adopted that view. It was a very great thing indeed to see that Parliament unanimously decide that we should walk with the other Dominions of the Empire in the great struggle in which we are engaged.

Men, the struggle will be long, according to present indications. Beware of the people who tell you that a peace is not far off. That is German propaganda. I could tell you something of where it originated. There are those who think that because we live on the North American Continent we should not be engaged in this conflict. There are men of that type and there are men who wish we were out of the conflict and who desire to get this country out of the conflict because we are on the North American Continent. Men, what is life worth if it is life without self-respect? What is life worth if, when we are challenged in our dearest beliefs, we are such cowards that we will not accept the challenge? What is it worth? What has it ever been worth?

There is a pride that comes to men who land upon the shores of England, who walk in the old, historic streets and look at the old buildings—these are mine and yours—not yours alone. These great fabrics, this fine structure of parliamentary government and of institutions that have been builded, they are mine. They are every Canadian's. They are every Australian's. They belong to every man who has descended from those who left the shores of those islands centuries ago and laid the foundations of our great dominions. Shall we disregard the challenge to our own Christian civilization? You have answered it, you have said we shall not. Then, having embarked upon the struggle with every ounce of energy, with every force and power at our command, see to it, see to it that the struggle ends as soon as possible, for there can be no defeat in this war. It is a word with no other dimensions—defeat is impossible. We struggle not for territory, we seek not to add to our domain, we seek not to add population. We stand for the validity of treaties, for the solemnity of promises, and if the world is in the condition it is today it is largely, as has been pointed out, because men have broken their word, nations have broken their word. Instead of repudiation, we hope this war will establish once more the reign of law, once more the rule of reason, once more negotiation for, while force cannot create civilization, force can sustain it. That is the reason that we throw all our might and power to sustain and support and maintain the integrity of our institutions, our own country, our own Empire, that has made the greatest contribution in the history of mankind to freedom among the people and the liberty of the individual. (Prolonged applause—and Cheers)

"HOW CAN WE BUILD A NATION?"

AN ADDRESS BY M. JEAN-CHARLES HARVEY

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, January 11, 1940

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen: It is indeed a privilege and a pleasure to introduce such an outstanding guest as the speaker of the day, Mr. Jean-Charles Harvey, who has taken such a great interest in the vital matter of national unity. Mr. Harvey's contributions in this respect have been of primary importance and have been highly commented upon in the press of Canada. Even Miss Judith Robinson, our inimitable Toronto critic, has paid special attention to his latest effort, as recently as Tuesday.

We find Mr. Harvey a champion of bilingualism, advocating the earlier teaching of the English language in the French schools. He appreciates, no doubt, the great importance of our brother Canadians being amply equipped to deal with national and domestic matters. This does not deter him from insisting on the maintenance of French culture in his own province, and recommending it to others.

Mr. Harvey has been a journalist for twenty-three years, and has a number of books also to his credit, chief of which is perhaps "Sackcloth for Banner".

Since September of 1937, Mr. Harvey has been Editor and Director of the weekly paper, *Le Jour,* of Montreal, a newspaper which is known throughout Canada for its effective endeavours in the cause of true unity in Canada.

We are singularly fortunate in having as our guest-speaker today, Mr. Jean-Charles Harvey, and we welcome him most heartily on his return visit to us. Mr. Harvey will speak on the subject, "How Can We Build a Nation?"

(Applause)

Mr. Jean-Charles Harvey: It is a great honour for me to be asked to appear again before this organization, particularly since I have been requested to discuss still further some of the problems which today face Canada as a nation. I do not propose to deal with bygones. I think that in this stage of our development we ought to concern ourselves more with the present and the future, since all that we do or leave undone now may be of far-reaching consequence.

Mind you, I do not say we should overlook the great lessons of the past. Canada's future ought to be, in a sense, a projection of the work performed so heroically by the founders of a new world.

Unfortunately, we find that after three centuries of white civilization in our land that, while our material progress has been tremendous, we have a great deal still to do before we can say we have set up the nation our ancestors envisioned.

Now, I am not here to preach the sort of nationalism we think of when we look at events in Europe. When I see how much blood and agony are wasted in the name of nationality on that continent, I am inclined to believe that we might better forget all about nationalism in this world. Then I remembered that the men who built this North America of ours hoped and intended to establish here not only a nationality but a nation in which all men would be welcome for what they were, rather than for the language they happened to speak or the church they happened to attend.

Unless we can look forward to a time when racial passion shall have disappeared from Canada, then the future we have to work for is not worth bothering very much about. Unlesss we can remember the ideal the founders of North American white civilization had before their eyes when they framed the Constitutions of this Dominion and of the United States, we must condemn our children and our children's children to live in an atmosphere constantly darkening.

Nationalism, as I see it in our day, is a carry-over from fears and prejudices developed during the centuries when communications were poor. People who lived on one side of a river or a mountain chain had no contact with those on the other side. The unknown is always terrifying, or at least strange.

Men climb to power over other men by playing upon their fears, their needs, their greed, their pride, their hopes. Leaders of men, when they are in danger of being called to account for their own sins of omission and of commission, have always found an easy way out by conjuring up some enemy against whom to direct the discontent of their own people. International trouble is almost invariably the result of internal trouble neglected.

William James, in his book on psychology, says you cannot get rid of a bad habit until you form a good new one to put in its place. We shall not rid ourselves of the evils of present-day nationalism until we engender a new ideal of nationalism and replace it.

North America, with the highest standard of living on earth, the most fully-developed systems of transport and communication, the presence of a comparatively well-educated population, is surely the one place above all where a new concept of nationality can be developed. We have all the facilities we need to know each other. You can travel from Halifax to Vancouver, now, in a day and a half. You can pick up the telephone and talk to anybody anywhere on this continent. Newspapers from every Canadian city are available in all other Canadian cities. We all live in houses of the same general kind, we listen to the same radio programmes, we eat the same foods, we walk on the same kinds of pavement in cities which are as like as two peas. (I don't speak of Montreal and Toronto.)

What is it that still keeps us from agreeing on practically every subject of mutual interest?

Tradition. Outworn, imported traditions from overseas, and fears deliberately cultivated in us by leaders whose influences depends upon their skilful exploitation of our weaknesses.

There are many Canadians who would like to see more "European civilization" in Canada. We have been trained from childhood to feel somewhat ashamed of our "colonialism". We are told our voices are rough, our accents are not "fawncy" enough to suit the fastidious. We are just a pack of ignorant barbarians, and there is no hope for us except in so far as we may become Europeanized. We have had this attitude drummed into us for years.

Now, there are some fine things in Europe. Civilizations over there have done much for the human race. But their very age is against them today.

We must go on where Europe has left off: we must strive to preserve the essential good in European qualities, but it is even more important for us to abandon a concept of life which leads inevitably, every couple of decades, to wars, depressions and revolutions.

It is because I have in my heart a clear vision of what Canada can be that I have dedicated myself to merciless warfare upon all efforts to divide Canadians against each other on racial, religious, geographical, social or other lines. I know the individuals and groups who preach division all do so in the name of holy causes—either ideological or economic—but I know, too, that their fanaticism in pursuit of their ideals is sowing for their children and ours the seeds of future wretchedness.

Do not understand me to say that I advocate the suppression of the individual rights and qualities of our various Canadian groups. It is the very opposite I seek. A Canada uniform from coast to coast, where every man thought and spoke like every other man would be a dismal country to live in. I do not want all men to be alike; what I want is for all men to realize that we have the right to be different, and be united. (Applause)

Here, in Canada, we have fortunately inherited the two greatest modern cultures on earth: the French and the English. To them we are adding smaller transfusions from other civilizations. Gradually, if we are sensible about our assets and frank about our liabilities, we could draw upon all these blood-streams for the ingredients of a civilization better than anyone else. Even if we did not incorporate all these assets into our national fabric, we might at least ground our development upon the premises that there is good in all of them, and that they are all welcome here, that they will sooner respect us and conform to our ways of life if we do not treat them as oddities and intrusions.

In a world where everything is tending to become rigid, Canada and the rest of North America must make a stand for flexibility. Where nations are waging bloody battle to enforce set ideologies upon each other, we must take the attitude, and maintain it, that Canada, as a North American nation, cannot follow Europe into any cast-iron authoritarian system which ignores the dignity and freedom of the individual. First of all, the centre of our affections and our ambitions should not be in the old world, but in Canada.

Here I should like to offer you an extract from *The Political Destiny of Canada,* by Goldwin Smith, published in 1878. He said:

"When the Canadian Nationalists say that patriotism is a good thing, they are told to keep their wisdom for the copy-books; and the rebuke would be just if those who administer it would recognize the equally obvious truth that there can be no patriotism without nationality. In a dependency there is no love of the country, no pride in the country; if an appeal is made to the name of the country, no heart responds as the heart of an Englishman responds when an appeal is made in the name of England. In a dependency every bond is stronger than that of country, every interest prevails over that of the country. The province, the sect, Orangeism, Fenianism, Freemasonry, Oddfellowship, are more to the ordinary Canadian than Canada. So it must be, while the only antidote to sectionalism in a population with strongly marked differences of race and creed is the sentiment of allegiance to a distant throne. The young Canadian leaving his native country to seek his fortune in the States feels no greater wrench than a young Englishman would feel in leaving his country to seek his fortune in London. Want of nationality is attended, too, with a certain want of self-respect, not only political but social, as writers on colonial society and character have observed. Wealthy men in a dependency are inclined to look to the Imperial country as the social centre and the mark of their social ambition, if not as their ultimate abode, and not only their patriotic munificence but their political and social services are withdrawn from the country of their birth."

That is the end of a statement written in 1878.

Since then Canada's strength, Canada's status and Canada's attitude toward the world have changed tremendously. Little more than twenty years after Goldwin Smith published his estimate of Canadian nationality, the young Dominion participated in an Imperial War in South Africa. Within less than another twenty years, we raised, trained, equipped and sent overseas the greatest army which had ever crossed an ocean in all history.

Our new status, consecrated in the blood of young Canadians at the cost of near-bankruptcy for our young nation, was recognized on the eleventh day of December, 1931, when, with the passage of the Statute of Westminster, we became a sovereign state.

If we agreed to co-operate in this present war, we did so not because we were automatically involved as a subject state but because our new freedom strengthened rather than weakened the British tie to the extent that we were ready to assume voluntarily the colossal burden of another participation in Europe's quarrels, believing that the preservation of the British Commonwealth was worth one more tremendous effort on our part.

Our young men have earned for Canada the status of nationhood. And we owe it to them to make that status more than a legal formula. We owe it to them to build here, in the country for which they died twenty years ago and for which they are dying again, a national spirit worthy of the magnitude of their sacrifice. We have paid so dearly for nationhood that we have earned the real thing, not just a parchment.

More than idealism is involved in the principle that Canada must develop a new kind of nationalism. It is a matter of plain common sense. There is no such thing in this Dominion as a clear cut majority of any one racial origin. It may surprise you to learn that of some eleven million people in Canada, only five million are of Anglo-

Saxon descent; and to get that figure of five million you must group together all Canadians of English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh descent. There are three million, five hundred thousand Canadians of French origin, and there are two million five hundred thousand Canadians who are of neither English nor French descent.

If the so-called original Canadians—those of English and French origin—were one autonomous group, it might be a simple matter for them to absorb the two million five hundred thousand men, women and children, whose traditions are not those of the groups which naturally speak the two official languages, but as it is we have too many to absorb them.

I remind you of it today because I believe the sooner we all recognize the true state of affairs in Canada, the sooner we shall adopt realistic policies rather than ineffectual expedients grounded on wishful thinking. That important fact is that the five million Canadians of Anglo-Saxon descent, though they still control the economic life of the Dominion, are not a homogeneous group and do not see eye to eye even among themselves on many Canadian problems.

On the other hand, the three million, five hundred thousand Canadians of French descent are to all intents and purposes a unit. They speak one language, they belong to one church, they have an uninterrupted tradition of North Americanism three hundred years old, they have a literature, a music and an art all their own, they have a high birth rate and, in the main, they are adherents of one political party. While they are not powerful enough, economically, to impose upon the Dominion the policies they want, they are powerful enough numerically to block the adoption of any policy they do not like. Not only are they strong enough to do this but they have done it more than once.

On the other hand, as we all saw in the last provincial election in Quebec, they are always ready and willing to co-operate for the interests of the nation as a whole, provided the appeal to do so is made to them in the name of Canada. This, I am afraid, is more than can be claimed for powerful elements in the so-called Anglo-Saxon group.

Let us face the situation squarely as it is. The last provincial election in Quebec and the two subsequent federal by-elections were votes favourable to Canadian unity. They were also votes approving participation, but not unlimited participation, in the war. Quebec is as anxious as any other part of Canada to see dictatorship in Europe destroyed, but not if the price is to be destruction of Canada and the establishment of another kind of dictatorship here. The votes in our recent Quebec elections were votes for the principle of justice, fair play and compromise between groups in Canada. Quebec's attitude in these elections must be met by an equally broad attitude on the part of English-speaking Canadians, and I hope it will be so.

We have got to realize, all of us, that our participation in the World War is going to bring about changes in this country which will still further complicate our national problems, and it is the reason why we must work more than ever for unity.

As a result of the investment of millions of dollars of European and American money in Canada during this war, we must expect a vast industrial development, which will certainly bring hundreds of thousands of immigrants to our shores as soon as the war is over. The men who bring this money are going to bring their own industrial methods and, to a certain extent, their own employees. This we cannot prevent, since we simply have not the population to fill the jobs which are going to be created here during the next five years. Industry must have trained workers and Canada, notwithstanding the comparatively high level of education in some of its provinces, has unfortunately trained too many white-collar workers to fill the requirements of the type of industrial development we embarked upon when we decided to become the workshop of the Allies.

Under our Constitution, education is and must be a matter for the provinces. However undesirable this may seem in theory to some of us, it is the one principle in the British North America Act which the largest homogeneous group in this country will never allow to be changed. Any improvement of education in French-speaking Canada must be made by the people concerned. Attempts to dictate from outside what those changes are to be will serve only to strengthen opposition to all reform.

The only possible solution I can see to this dilemma is a drawing together forthwith of the 3,500,000 French-speaking Canadians and the 5,000,000 English-speaking Canadians to evolve a *modus vivendi* in those fields where we can act as a unit. We must lay the basis of an all-Canadian civilization strong enough to assimilate, not only the 2,500,000 so-called foreigners we have now, but the many thousands more who are to come here.

We cannot afford to forget the lesson of the United States. They, too, had two distinct civilizations between which no agreement seemed possible: that of the North and of the Ohio Valley, industrial, aggressive, materialistic, like that of our so-called "English" provinces; that of the South, traditionalist, slow-moving, feudal, like that of the French-speaking Canadians. Came the wave of immigration and the expansion of foreign trade, with ther inevitable changes and dislocations, and the two civilizations leaped at each others' throats in the bloodiest war in North American history. Not until after that war did the Americans unite and take control after a fashion of their own evolution; even now it is hard to say which element came out on top—authentic Americanism or the influence of the migrants.

Immediately after the last provincial election in Quebec, realizing that in that campaign the French-speaking Canadians had definitely affirmed their desire to co-operate closely with the rest of the nation, some of my friends came to me and suggested that we should establish an organization which might be the means of uniting all Canadians in a new nationhood. We do not want to see perpetrated here, in virtually identical circumstances, the disunion which provoked the American Civil War.

We knew, as you all know, that Canadian confederation was the outgrowth of that war in the United States—was an attempt made by Canadian leaders at that time to prevent such a thing happening here.

In some respects Confederation has succeeded. In others, it has failed. Its chief failure has been that it has not yet succeeded in creating a truly national spirit in Canada.

Now, we have got to make up our minds that we can have such a national spirit only on a basis of compromise. You will never persuade or force the 3,500,000 French-speaking Canadians to give up their language, their religion, their schools and their customs. You will never persuade or force 5,000,000 English-speaking Canadians to give up their language, their democratic tradition or their system of non-denominational education. And you cannot, without impoverishing our civilization, force 2,500,000 new Canadians to throw overboard all the characteristics and qualities they have brought with them onto Canadian soil.

What Canada must do—and this cannot be done by law—is develop a new, purely Canadian mentality, adjustable to all those various national personalities without destroying their distinctive characteristics. There is room for them all to fit in, provided the 8,500,000 first-comers can agree among themselves upon a common basis of co-operation. Between now and the end of the war we must learn to unite or agree to see ourselves overwhelmed by uncontrolled forces.

The task we have set ourselves is not an easy one. What we have in mind cannot be accomplished by passing a few resolutions backed only by wishful thinking.

We have drawn up tentatively a few specific objectives which I lay before you now:

1. To group Canadians of all origins—English, French, Scottish, Irish, German, Italian, Ukranian, Russian, Scandinavian, Jewish, Dutch, Swiss and the rest—in one single classification;
2. To accustom Canadians to think first in terms of the nation so that they may fully and properly treasure their title to Canadian citizenship. Every inhabitant of this Dominion ought to be able to say, "I am a Canadian" with no narrowing qualifications, just as

Americans are able to say with pride and assurance, "I am an American and nothing else!";

3. To apply powerful weapons of propaganda and persuasion until all movements tending to align one Canadian group against another have been destroyed;
4. To wage war upon all tendencies toward separatism and isolation, using both the spoken and written word;
5. To use all practical means which will stimulate closer contacts between Canadians of various languages, faiths and origins;
6. To spread bilingualism, not only in and by means of legislation but through educational circles as well;
7. To strive, with the assistance of the authorities and of private organizations, for a free exchange of professors and teachers between the provinces;
8. To organize summer camps where children of various origins may live together two months in every year, learning each others' languages and characteristics;
9. To stimulate Canada's internal tourist trade, so Canadians may learn to know their own country better than they do. Many Canadians are better aquainted now with France, England and Florida than they are with their own land.
10. To exert influence, in order to secure the enactment of unifying legislation and the repeal of disruptive statutes;
11. To stress educational questions so that certain textbooks common to the nation as a whole may be used uniformly in all provinces. A uniform Canadian history and another text to aid the development of a Pan-Canadian spirit. We need urgently some textbooks of that kind.
12. To uphold our democratic ideals against all comers, since only in the maintenance of democracy can we conform to the North American concept of life and maintain all our liberties;

13. To educate the masses and apply pressure toward the maintenance of the power and prestige of the Central government, since that government alone is the bond of Canadian unity and it alone upholds the Great Charter of our freedom;
14. To summon to general conference, once a year, representatives from all groups and all provinces, as well as all citizens who desire the growth of a single nation, one and indivisible.

French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians have perhaps their last chance, during this war, to take the leadership in a movement of good understanding out of which we can develop an edifice of our own powerful enough to dominate our future.

There is going on now in Europe a death struggle between the Capitalist-Democratic-Christian system and the champions of what the revolutionaries call "The World of the Future". Canada which of its own free will has just stationed itself at the crossroads, must on that account necessarily suffer the full consequences of the war. Our Allies will get the upper hand, but they will emerge from the holocaust with their social, political and economic organizations fundamentally altered.

Are we strong enough and united enough to force those who will come to us to fit themselves into Canadian life?

I do not believe we are now. But I do believe we can be.

If enough Canadians share my faith, they will sink their personal preferences and prejudices, and join us in the great task of recreating on Canadian soil a great, respected and powerful nation. (Hearty applause)

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen: We are much indebted to our guest today for the excellent address, and his presentation of the case of the national spirit for Canada. I believe he has voiced the sentiments of all our loyal citizens who are looking forward to a greater Canada which will take its natural position in future world affairs. The freedom of speech and action to other nationals within our limits must be an excellent object lesson in which to teach what our democracy means, in this country.

I am expressing, I am sure, the sentiments and views of those present when I say that we most heartily welcome this splendid and inspiring talk on how we can build a nation. I, therefore, on your behalf, extend to our guest-speaker our hearty appreciation and thanks for this excellent address. (Applause)

"SOME STRATEGIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR IN 1940"

AN ADDRESS BY MR. HANSON W. BALDWIN

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Friday, January 19, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: We are most pleased indeed to welcome one of our neighbours from New York as our guest-speaker on this occasion: Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, the military and naval correspondent of the New York *Times.*

Mr. Baldwin has had an excellent opportunity through special circumstances to make a study of the military defences of many European countries, and was an interested spectator of the tremendous development in armaments that took place in Europe prior to the outbreak of war in September last.

Mr. Baldwin is a graduate of the Naval Academy in Annapolis. After three years with the Navy he resigned his Commission and entered newspaper life, specializing in navy assignments and accompanying the Fleet on many of its manoeuvres.

In addition to being a talented journalist, he is also an author, and has to his credit two books: *The Caissons Roll,* being a military survey of Europe, and *Admiral Death,* a book of sea stories.

In his extensive travels in the Western Hemisphere, it is interesting to note that he made a trip to Labrador with Sir Wilfred Grenfell in the course of his early newspaper duties.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I introduce to you Mr. Hanson Baldwin, who will speak on "Some Strategic Aspects of the War in 1940". (Applause)

MR. HANSON W. BALDWIN: Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen of the Empire Club: I want to apologize for my tardiness today. Although it doesn't look like it here in Toronto, there is a real blizzard raging in Buffalo. In fact, after getting out on the station platform and walking around for a few minutes I felt, I thought, somewhat as the Russians must feel in Finland. The temperature was below zero and I never saw snow coming down so quickly, so the delay was entirely on the other side of the line.

Despite the topic of my talk, "The War in 1940", I am not going to attempt to prophesy today, because I believe phrophecy is flat, stale, and unprofitable, but I believe I can take common ground with one American negro soldier, who was a Guardsman in a regiment of Territorials. They were in a summer training camp for two weeks in the south and after several rather arduous days of training, the negro soldier wanted to go out into town one night and he came to the end of the camp border and tried to pass a sentry. The sentry stopped him, halted him and asked for his pass. "Where is your pass paper?" "What paper—I ain't got no pass paper, big boy." "You've got to have a pass paper. You can't get out of camp without a pass paper." "I ain't got no pass paper but I shure wanta go to town."

Finally he reached in his pocket and pulled out a big razor, and he said, "I'se got a mother in Heaven and a father in hell, and a girl friend in Atlanta, and I shure is agoin' to see one of 'em tonight." (Laughter)

That is about the extent of my prophecy today. I am sure the war is going somewhere in 1940. There are going to be developments of some sort, but I am not going to go very much further than that. I do not think, however, we can get some general indication of the possible course of action open to either side, if we look briefly at the forces involved in this tremendous drama in Europe and the theatre of action in which it is being played, and the course of events to date, before even trying to determine what might possibly happen in 1940.

I am going to try to do this briefly with lantern slides because I think it is impossible to study war without looking at maps. Briefly then, I want to survey the forces involved in the conflict before going on to the theatre of action. (Slide 1) I have tried to do it with these tabulations, simplified, of course, which are supposed to be as of September 1, 1939, when the war opened.

I have tried to arrange the powers of Europe, including some nations now neutral, in the order of their financial, raw material and food self-sufficiency. Of course, all the difference in the world, as you know, comes into the picture if we consider the British Empre as a whole or merely the British Isles. I don't want to dwell on the picture—it is probably more familiar to you gentlemen than to me. (Slide 2) This represents a rough compilation of the army strengths of the warring powers as at September 1st, and I think what I have attempted to do is list the maximum war effort that may be put in the field in possible divisions and men, as really the most important yard-stick as far as arms and man power is concerned. I want to impress on you that these are merely estimates. They can be little more than intelligent guesses. I have set them up to be merely shot at and a guide post to the future.

As you know, the infantry division is the standard combat unit. In all armies they vary in size. In the case of Russia, a Divison numbers about 18,000 men; in Germany, about 15,224, and in the case of the French somewhat less than that, and the Polish Divisions are 12,000 men. Of course you know your own British Divisions.

(Slide 3.) This slide shows a rough summary of the estimated naval strength of the powers. This has been modified, slightly, of course, in the last four and a half months of war by sinkings and war casualties. Germany, for instance, has lost a large number of submarines, which were listed at sixty as at the beginning of the war. They have lost the Graf Spee, one of their battle ships, and Britain has lost one of fifteen capital ships and one of her aircraft carriers.

You notice that the overwhelming naval strength of Britain is further enhanced by that of the French fleet.

(Slide 4.) Estimates of air strengths of the warring powers. This is probably the most disputed and difficult statistical summary of all, because it is impossible to get exact figures as to the Air Forces of Europe. Estimates of the German air strength and the German production capacity verge, sometimes, in my opinion on the fantastic. As you remember, even before the war started, and as long as a year ago, some estimates of the German air production capacity, at least those published in the United States, went as high as 72,000 planes a year—a figure I consider to be preposterous and impossible.

I have tried to be conservative in the estimates made here. Remember, these are as of September 1st. Since that time I would say that Germany has increased her production capacity to somewhere between 1,500 and 1,800 planes a month. Some figures are higher than that. In Washington, some believe the figure is as high as 2,000 or above. Personally, I believe that is too high.

Of course, British capacity has increased materially and is probably over 1,000 a month. The French capacity is now probably between 300 to 500 a month. In addition, and this is a fact that I have not touched upon in this chart, the production of aircraft in the United States has increased steadily. Conservative estimates have put the output at 10,000 to 12,000 military planes during 1940. They are not all available for export. A large number will be used for the strengthening of our own air force. Nevertheless, a large number will be available for export, particularly of the type that France most needs, the same type of Curtiss pursuit plane that has done such good work against the German Messerschmitts and that is probably the closest thing to the British Hawker Hurricane.

So much for the forces involved in the war—military, naval and air. I think it is fair in summarizing these forces to say that German military strength will probably reach its maximum capacity some time during 1940, and thereafter can be expected to decline vis-a-vis the Allied strength. Just what time that will occur is impossible to state. As you know, when war opened, Germany's economy was geared to a war system, even in peace time, and naturally she was able to swing into production at a faster rate, perhaps, than the democracies were.

As each month passes, that initial advantage for Germany will decrease, and I think it is safe to say that during 1940—exactly when I do not know—the production capacity of the Allies, backed by the United States, the number of planes, the number of men in training on land and, (of course, on the sea there is no comparison between German and British strength,) in any case in all three fields, land, sea and air, the Allied strength will probably pass Germany's some time in 1940.

So much for the forces involved. Let us look very briefly at the theatre of action. This map of Europe shows the principal air bases and the naval bases, and it depicts rather graphically the advantage Germany has, due to her interior lines of position between France on the west, and Poland, on the east.

On the other hand, there is of course, the position of the British Isles, with its favourable geographic positon athwart German sea trade routes, which gives a tremendous advantage over Germany in the struggle on the seas.

It was due to these interior lines of communication and her interior position that Germany was able to mass troops against Poland, and shuffle them back quickly to the Western Front.

This map shows in simplified form the principal topographical features of Europe. Though the plane can surmount the mountainous ranges and fly above rivers, and is no longer limited and defined as strictly as land armies once were by topographical features, nevertheless these features will play and will continue to play a vital part in the drama of the forces in Europe.

In the north, of course, is the very flat Baltic plain, extending all the way into Poland. There is no major terrain obstacle until you have reached the Vistula, a fact that materially helped the German advance into Poland. Over here there is the old German-Polish frontier. Looking at the map you can see how important Czechoslovakia was. The Bohemian Bastion particularly emphasized the importance of the former Czechoslovakia. Here we have a wide entry to the Hungarian plain, southeastward, and thence through the Iron Gateway, or the Diagonal Furror or down the Valley of the Danube, southeast to the oil and wheat fields of Rumania. This has been the route of the push to the east for centuries, and it is not impossible that they might try to follow the same path again.

Here are the Alpine passes into France from Italy. Notice how the passes all converge into the Valley of the Po. The industrial heart of Italy is extremely vulnerable to attack.

Further, if an invading army could negotiate the passes into France it would be faced with the obstacle of the Rhone River and the high, rocky, mountain range, the Central Massif, which would prevent the invader reaching the vital areas of France. I think that it is true that in modern times no invasion has been successfully made from Italy into France.

Also, vice versa, as you know, Napoleon and Hannibal succeeded in traversing these passes into Italy.

So much for the theatre of war, and the forces involved. Let us review the first four and a half months of the conflict. As you all know, the war opened on two fronts. Germany massing the major portion of her army and air forces to overwhelm Poland in a "blitzkrieg", or lightning war. I wish we had more time to deal with the Polish campaign. In a military sense it was one of the most interesting phases of the war to date, and also because it was one of the most important events of the first months of war.

You remember, Bismarck warned Germany that she should never fight on two fronts. You remember she opened this war by fighting on two fronts. She overwhelmed Poland in what came to be known as "The Campaign of the Eighteen Days", and the war changed, temporarily, (and I shall explain the "temporarily" later,) to a one front war.

Therefore, I think the Polish campaign was of great importance, and I think it proved the great power of the German army for a short war. On the other hand, we must remember that the Poles were very badly equipped, lacking in modern equipment of all types, and still trained, to some extent, in the tactics of Balaclava.

I visited Warsaw two years ago and I saw Poland's crack cavalry regiment stage a demonstration. The men were still armed with lances and sabres, and were charging against machine guns. If the machine guns had been firing bullets they would have been wiped out. They were literally using the same tactics as at Balaclava and that cannot be done today.

You remember how an attempt was made to divert attention to the Western Front, in order to bring relief to the hard-pressed Polish Allies, and this map shows about the extent of the French advance. They pushed cautiously into the Saar region, between the Rhine and the Moselle. There was no action on this front (illustrating) at all. The Rhine offers an almost impassable barrier through this basin. During the first sixteen to twenty days of September the French succeeded in taking this territory, most of it in advance of the main line of resistance, of the West Wall although the French did succeed in penetrating some of the outposts of the West Wall. Then, very wisely, I think, after the Polish collapse the French decided they should go on the defensive and they very wisely assumed positions about as they were when the war started, with the main line of resistance running pretty close to the frontier, a little on German soil, but mostly on French soil, with outposts back and forth across the border.

At the same time, the British Expeditionary Force of six Divisions was being successfully transported to France with a speed, I think, that certainly surpassed that of the World War, and with a speed and efficiency surprising to most people who hadn't followed the recent developments of the British Army.

We have on the Western Front a stabilized situation existing since the 1st of October, with both lines behind the fortified fronts of the West Wall and the Maginot Line.

The nature of the Maginot Line is pretty well understood. It has been built for some years and consists of a tremendous line of fortifications, particularly strong directly on the German frontier.

The West Wall is not generally so clearly understood, and this map attempts to give a simplified explanation of it.

As you know, the Germans, before they built the West Wall, had established some fortifications all the way from the Dutch border to Switzerland. Those fortifications still exist. Although they are not to be compared with the major forts of the West Wall, nevertheless, they have to be reckoned with, and it is wise to include them in any map.

The French advance was cautious, and if you look you will see why it was cautious. It would have been foolhardy in the extreme to have repeated the tactics of the World War, when some 325,000 Frenchmen died in the first few months, following the Foch doctrine of "Attack! Attack!" If they had followed the same tactics there would have been a heavy loss of life, and very wisely the French did not attack. There are forts across the entire area, and numerous pill-boxes between the Rhine and the Moselle. Then there are occasional very light fortifications, mostly field fortifications, between where the Rhine flows into Holland and the North Sea.

So much for the war on the Western Front. Let us now look very briefly at the war in Finland.

As I said before, the war opened on two fronts, and the German victory in Poland changed the war to one front. I think it is quite conceivable that the war in Finland will change the war back to war on two fronts. I do not think that the importance of the Finnish-Russian fighting can be over-emphasized. It is directly connected with the larger war in Europe and certainly will develop before very long the extent of the German and Russian rapprochement, and it may involve, sooner or later, the Scandinavian Peninsula.

Going over the war to date, the Russians, obviously over-confident, tried to over-run the Finns with the same tactics that subdued Estonia and the other Baltic States. When Finland refused to be overawed, they sent bombing raids against Helsinki, and immediately followed that up with advances against the Karelian Isthmus. The initial advances were obviously made in much too small force to be effective. They didn't use any more Divisions than they had stationed in Leningrad military area, in this section here, and the Finns were able to hold the Russians off, and make some slight advances, using their famous ski warfare, and guerilla tactics. They penetrated down in this area almost to Rovaruenu which is connected with the only Finnish railway line to Sweden. I think you probably read in the papers this morning that the remnant of the Russian Forces, perhaps two Divisions, had retreated from the extreme advance point, and they are now retreating still further and apparently are going back to the Russian border.

The Finnish tactics are to cut the lines of communication with ski troops and guerilla warfare, and to gradually wear down the Russians with the extreme cold of the northern winter and surround and destroy them, and they have achieved some outstanding successes, cutting up very badly the 44th Russian Division brought up from the Polish front, and normally assigned to the military district in the south on the Rumanian border, and brought up here, and despite the fact it was a regular Division, apparently supposed to be made up of good troops, the Finns have defeated them in a rather brief time.

So the war, in Finland is becoming a sort of stalemate, with the Finns having won spectacular successes in the six to seven weeks of war, and with volunteers from Sweden, Norway and other countries rushing across the Swedish frontiers, and with Allied supplies reaching the Finns and Russia mobilizing more forces—how many there are now, we don't know—I think the superiority of Russian strength is at least two to one in Divisions and man power. I don't think it is nearly fifty to one. I don't think they would dare take that many troops from other sections, from the Rumanian frontier, and if you remember the figures I tried to give of the maximum effectiveness of the Russian army, you can easily see it couldn't support the millions of men in the north that you probably read about. Nevertheless, they can meet the Finns, very definitely with a two or three to one superiority, and in time that will tell.

We have, therefore, the stalemate there. Sooner or later we will have a definition of just how close to Russia Germany is. There have been reports that Russia has already asked for some German aid in Finland. Whether that is true or not, I do not know. Certainly there is no evidence of any German aid going as yet. It is, I think, of high importance to the Allies to counteract that with all sorts of vigorous measures. As you look at the map of Europe you see that it is altogether important to the Allies that neither Germany nor Russia gains a foothold on the Scandinavian Peninsula.

So much for the war on land. This very graphic British Admiralty chart shows, I think, at once the strength and weakness of the British Empire, and particularly the British Isles. The tremendous amount of traffic going to the little islands is envisioned on this chart and it shows why Germany immediately struck through a submarine and mine campaign against the little islands. It is a war in which the superior strength of Britain is being reduced by the enemy through attacks with submarines and mines and tactics of surprise.

Two facts are outstanding about this war. First, the British adopted the convoy system immediately on the start of the war, which proved the most effective antidote to the submarine campaign in the last war. The second most effective weapon against the submarine was the laying of mines which also proved most effective in the last war. The British have now announced the laying of a tremendous mine barrage down the east coast of England to act as a shield against submarine operations. As you will remember, there was a small mine field laid across the North sea in the World War, in which some American forces participated, and it proved a very effective weapon to the German submarine campaign, and helped to break the back of it during the closing days of the war. I think the two measures taken—the adoption of the convoy system and the laying of the mines are two evidences of the ability of the British to cope with the submarine menace and provide an answer to it. Today the German submarine campaign has not met with too much success from their point of view. The average loss has been about 6,100 tons a day, including German vessels scuttled, as compared to an average of about 21,000 tons a day in the height of the German unrestricted warfare during the World War. So far the shipping sunk has just passed the million mark in tonnage. That sounds like a good many ships sunk.

This German chart, purporting to show the results of one year of unrestricted U-boat warfare during the World War, is I think very graphic, depressing and effective. It is in vivid contrast to the sinkings to date during this war. You can see, with each of these little symbols representing a sunken ship, how many were sunk at the height of the unrestricted submarine campaign during 1917-1918. At the present time, the total sinkings, as I said before, is about a million tons of shipping, which is a small drop in the bucket of the worlds shipping of sixty-four million tons, and over thirty thousand vessels.

I think it is safe to say if the German submarine and mine campaign is to achieve the success achieved in the World War, the rate of destruction has to be at least tripled and maintained at that increased tripled rate for a long time to come. There is no evidence that it can be done.

I am not going to deal very closely with the actual battles between fighting fleets. We haven't time. As you know, Germany must attack with the same tactics against British naval vessels as against merchantmen. She cannot hope to fight against the British fleet and therefore adopts the tactics of the hit-and-run, of surprise, of submarine and surface raids.

I think the first four months of the war have been distinguished by a number of events, chiefly in the cockpit of the North Sea. There was, of course, the sinking of the Royal Oak. And there was the scuttling of the Graf Spee, which was at once a moral defeat as well as a material one.

To return to the air. There has been a continual struggle over the North Sea between air power and air power and between sea power and sea power, always in an effort to secure control of this important area. The German air operations so far have been sporadic and relatively ineffective. They have not launched their full strength in the air since the Polish campaign, nor have the British launched their full strength in the air. Each side is holding itself more or less in reserve.

I think the most important development of the first four months has been in the factories, rather than in the air, each side striving to build up their plane production capacity as rapidly as possible.

Finally, with this background, let us look at the course of the war tomorrow, and the courses of action open to both sides. This general map of Europe, if closely examined, I think will give us a key to some of the possible developments that either side may try.

First, what are the courses of action open to the Allies? On land, they have, of course, the choice of offensive or defensive on the Western Front. As I said, they are faced with the tremendous zone of fortifications, the West Wall, and, of course, with no intention whatsoever of violating the neutrality of Belgium or Holland or Switzerland. I think the Allies' obvious course is to remain on the defensive. I cannot see a major offensive from the point of the Allies on the Western Front in 1940.

Because the North Sea has always been the cockpit of the struggle for superiority at sea, the struggle there may be expected to continue more or less as it has started. It is obviously to the Allies' advantage to tighten the blockade against Germany—a blockade that becomes more and more effective as time goes on and tends to throttle the flow of vital supplies into Germany.

I cannot see a major offensive launched by the Allies in the air during 1940, at least not during the next few months. It is obviously in the interests of the Allies to let time play, to let time build up their manufacturing capacity and increase their strength vis-a-vis Germany.

There is, of course, the possibility of the establishment of another front, either in Finland, or the Balkans. Again, that depends more upon political possibilities. It depends on the action that Germany takes, rather than upon the action the Allies take. Certainly, the Allies are not going to violate the neutrality of any of the small nations. Therefore, we must watch both Germany and Russia.

Now, what are the courses of action open to Germany? She has one alternative that perhaps has not been sufficiently considered. There is a possibility that she will stay put, as she is. I don't think it is a probability; I don't think that it is the most likely course of action that Germany will take, but it is a possibility. A great deal depends on whether or not her leaders believe she can secure enough supplies from Russia or these areas that cannot be blockaded, to enable her to last out a long war. I don't believe they think so but that possibility must be considered.

Aside from the war of waiting and the war of attrition, what else can she do? She can launch a considerable offensive at sea and in the air, but remain on the defensive on land. That probably, if started, would be directed principally against Britain in the air with an intensified submarine campaign against neutral shipping and British shipping also. Undoubtedly neutral shipping has suffered as much as British shipping. The ratio of neutral losses is higher than during the last war.

But I think it is more in keeping with the German mentality, more in keeping with the German feeling that the army is still the backbone of German military strength, and it is more reasonable to assume, as Lord Lothian said when speaking in Chicago recently, that Germany will launch an offensive, a general offensive on land, in the air, and on the sea.

What, then, are the courses of action open on land? One, of course, I have referred to already, in Finland. I hardly think that Germany will become deeply involved with aiding Russia in Finland, unless she feels that Russia's advance across Finland in the north was imperilling Germany's sources of iron ore supply in Northern Sweden. On the other hand, the Allies cannot afford to allow Russia or Germany to gain a foothold in the Scandinavian Peninsula. That might prove very serious to the blockade. I do not think that Germany would attempt an aggressive move in this direction unless it were a move of desperation.

Germany cannot hope to gain a decisive victory, though she might long endure, in a war of attrition.

There is the other way to the east and the Balkans. Again, I think this would be a policy of desperation if Germany took this course. They would do exactly what they had hoped to avoid—open up another front, a way for the Allies to get at Germany through the Balkans. However, if the Germans were convinced that the Balkans were withholding supplies vital to them, if they were not getting enough oil from Rumania, it may be that in a moment of desperation they would advance down through the Danube Valley to the east.

However, I think it is far more likely, if Germany attacks, that she would finally attack in the west. This map shows in rough pictorial form the possible courses of action open in the west. First, an invasion through Switzerland, through the valley of the Rhine. This would be a terrifically difficult route, hardly likely to be tried. The other route would be through the famous Belfort Gap—guarded by the famous fortress of Belfort—the only fortification that did not succumb in the Franco-Prussian war. It is also one in which a couple of divisions could probably hold off an army. There is little possiblity of any invasion across the Rhine.

Going to the north and west there is another less unfavourable terrain gate. This area, however, is guarded by the heaviest fortifications of the Maginot Line. In this area, from the Moselle to the Rhine, we find the original Maginot Line, and the strongest part, and certainly any attack in this direction would cost the invaders very heavily.

Going to the west there is another possible course of invasion but this would involve violating the neutrality of Luxemburg. Another still further west course would be down through Dutch Limburg, with a sweeping movement across the Albert Canal, and on through Belgium, and toward the Channel Coast.

Of course either of these movements or all of them would involve the reduction of the Belgian defences, which have been very materially strengthened since the war began and are much stronger than during the last war. The fortifications of Leige and Namur have been modernized and there are strong fortifications along the line of the Meuse, and the former vulnerable line is now fortified with anti-tank guns and pill boxes.

Although in a terrain sense, the Lowlands are still the most inviting approach into France, the Belgian defences and the extension of the Maginot Line along the Belgian border make any such invasion extremely difficult.

This final slide shows more graphically than any of the others the almost unsurmountable terrain difficulties that the Germans have to face if they invaded France without violating the neutrality of any states that are now neutral. Leaving the Maginot Line out of consideration altogether as a tremendous initial obstacle you come against successive terrain obstacles. There are no less than five river lines between Paris and the German frontier, any one of which is easily capable of defence, and any one of which, even if the Maginot Line were penetrated—which is something it is difficult to believe could be done—could be consolidated for defence work.

Summing up, the most likely possibility for 1940, as far as Germany is concerned, is possibly the war of waiting, a continuation of the war as at present. I don't say probably—it is possible. It is more likely that there will be a German air and sea offensive, and it is still more likely there will be a co-ordinated German offensive by land, air and sea.

These things are still in the field of speculation. We can be sure of one thing. The war in 1940 will continue to be a war of nerves and political diversions, as well as perhaps a war of major military operatons. And, all things considered, nothing has occurred, in my opinion, in the first four and a half months of war to change the opinions as expressed by many competent observers before the war commenced, that time eventually will work against Germany.

Voltaire said that a good speaker was one who knew when to stop. Well, I hear you, Voltaire! (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Baldwin, what a splendid survey you have given us of the present status of the war in Europe and Finland! Your address has been an excellent description of the campaign in these countries to date and the possibilities of the future. Your clear analysis of the situation is of great value to us in interpreting events, along with the statistics and the excellent review of the armaments on land, in the air and in the navy. In fact, the subject matter that you have given to us is too extensive for me to say more at this particular time, than to say this, that we are indeed grateful to you for this excellent address, and I extend to you on behalf of the Empire Club, our keen appreciation and thanks, Mr. Baldwin.

(Applause)

"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE BALKANS"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. RICHARD A. R. MARESCH

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, January 25, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: Before introducing our guest-speaker today, I would welcome to our head table, among the other distinguished guests, two ladies. First, Mrs. W. P. M. Kennedy, President of the Women's Canadian Club, who is on my left, and on my right we have Mrs. John F. Davidson, prominent cultural lecturer on world affairs.

Our guest of honour today is Dr. Maresch, and we are fortunate to have this opportunity of hearing one who is familiar with the European viewpoint through his intimate acquaintance with men of note, both in Austria, Germany and Russia. Dr. Maresch was born in Vienna, of distinguished parents. His mother was lady-in-waiting to Empress Elizabeth, wife of Emperor Franz Josef. During his youth he lived in Russia, his family moving to Germany during the first revolution of 1904 and 1905. Dr. Maresch was again in Russia during the Revolution of 1916 and 1917, not from choice, but due to his captivity, being a prisoner of war during this particular period. He escaped in 1919 to return to a business career and the completion of his university education, graduating as Doctor of Jurisprudence from the universities at Berlin and Erlangen.

With such a background as this, Dr. Maresch is well qualified to tell Canadian audiences something of the European scene, and I take great pleasure in introducing Dr. Maresch, whose subject is "The Present Situation in the Balkans". (Applause)

Dr. Richard A. R. Maresch: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very grateful for the privilege extended to me to speak to you here. I think I have to stress, in any case, that I express here only my personal point of view, but I think I have had so much insight into affairs on the Continent that I can tell you what is going on behind these many moves that you are all so eager and keen to know about.

The stalemate on the Western Front has, I think, left everybody guessing as to what will be the next move by Hitler and the Nazis. I have found that many people think that he will threaten, as well as Scandinavia, Switzerland and also the Netherlands and Belgium. I, personally, am not so much of this opinion. We must not forget that Hitler is hindered in doing so by just the thing he needs most. Hitler and the Nazis need gasoline and they need oil. Any move on Scandinavia or Switzerland would give them not one drop of oil, but would cost them a great deal that would have to be expended on planes, tanks and submarines. Besides that, if they could get Scandinavia, we could easily see that Russia would immediately extend pressure on Hitler to help finish the Finns, and Germany would have to do so because Russia would immediately stop sending the few things she is getting over. I know Russia cannot send much, for any little amount sent over is extremely important for the Germans, so they will have to help the Russians jockey themselves into a position in Scandinavia. The Nazis would have got no further and they would still have to occupy that territory to keep it down. They would have the difficulty of a new front in the north without more oil.

The same with Switzerland. It would be very difficult to take Switzerland and if they take it, it will mean many losses and they will have gained no gasoline.

Belgium and the Netherlands are maybe a little more important to the Nazis and Hitler, because if he can get the Netherlands he has moved his lines nearer to England. It will be easier for him to send over his bombing squadrons. But will he have the gasoline to send them over? What is the use of shortening the mileage if they have no oil?

I beg you to remember the war in Poland. Hitler wanted to show that he could go over Poland in the shortest time. They spent gasoline in enormous amounts and it is my private opinion that one of the reasons Hitler has not moved until now is that he is already feeling the lack of oil enormously.

If Hitler takes the Netherlands, and I say it is possible, what will happen when he has expended the last of his oil? Then the counter attack will be launched and they will be thrown out as quickly as they have entered. There is no chance of taking the Netherlands and of holding them if they have not oil, and there is no chance of a real attack against France, or against the Maginot Line if they run out of oil. They need enormous supplies and these supplies are not there. Germany needed in peacetime, about 7,000,000 metric tons of oil, and produced only about 500,000 herself. She has not got Polish oil.

Now, after Stalin made the terrible blunder with Finland, they used their pressure to get Polish oil, but Poland could not supply them. The only country that could supply oil is Rumania, and therefore I think it is rather certain that the next move of Hitler and the Nazis will be to get hold of this Rumanian oil. They must have oil or they will give in very soon. We know, that is to say, the organizations that are under Hitler know, perfectly well that they had no provisions, no supplies stored up, of oil in Austria and Czechoslovakia. We know, because they could get very little oil from Poland, that the Germans must have run out almost by now. If they do not get this oil in the quickest time they have no chance to win the war. Even if they get Rumanian oil, it is very questionable whether they will win, because, I beg you to remember, in the Great War the Polish oil fields were then in Austrian possession, and the Rumanian oil fields were taken also when the Central Powers occupied Rumania, nevertheless it did not help to win the last war. It will not help then, if they get Rumania, to win this war, but it might give Hitler some victories, and he might try on the basis of his victories to come to a better peace and to keep out of the hole he has manoeuvred himself into.

Rumania is the country that Germany must get. The Balkans are only an addition, a rather disagreeable addition, for Hitler. He has to calculate that a move into Rumania will set the Balkans on fire. Before the Great War there were two countries that tried to get the Hegemony in the Balkans. That was Austria-Hungary and Russia. After the Great War, Austria-Hungary was dissolved and Russia, through her Bolshevist experiment, got so weak that she dropped out entirely from the Balkans. Instead of these two former rivals there came two new countries looking for the supremacy in the Balkans—Germany and Italy. For Italy, the Balkans are absolutely necessary. Italy is a country situated in the Mediterranean and her sole interest is the Mediterranean and the markets of the Mediterranean. If they cannot get the Balkans as a market, Italy will perish in the long run, and Mussolini knows it perfectly well. Nevertheless, duped by Hitler, and weakened through the Abyssinian conflict, he had to see Germany march in. He had to give in when Austria was taken.

I am not quite certain and especially I cannot prove it at the moment, but all our information indicated formerly that Mr. Mussolini had been promised by Mr. Hitler that Austria would never be incorporated into the German Reich. Nevertheless, Hitler incorporated Austria and the German forces were then moved up, and Mussolini got through this absolutely dependent on Hitler, and he had to dance as Mr. Hitler piped. But I know the Italians resented it very much. The first time they began to move openly against Hitler and German supremacy in the Balkans was when they took Albania. There they showed clearly that they were not willing to leave the Balkans to Germany, but they were still too weak and in too great a danger to do it quite openly.

Now, Hitler has committed this absolutely frightful blunder of calling Soviet Russia in, and with that Hitler eliminated with one stroke any aspirations of the Germans for the Balkans and he made Italy opposed and still more strongly opposed to the Germans. For Russia came in as a new competitor. Mighty Russia, as it was believed. People who knew Russia from the inside knew that it was only propaganda, that Russia was very, very weak. Nevertheless, Russia was a very dangerous enemy, and even more dangerous than Germany, because you have in the Balkans a lot of Slav nations who would be far more willing to join to a Slav Russia than to a Prussian Germany.

Now, Mr. Stalin proved that he can be just as good a blunderer as Mr. Hitler. He started war with Finland, and he showed how weak Russia really is, with the result that Mussolini, and he is a very clever player, has now something in his grasp that he had lost formerly. That is the Balkans and the supremacy in the Balkans. Germany cannot dare to move now against Italy into the Balkans. Russia has shown how weak she is, and Italy can now get that supremacy that she wants.

Maybe, people will say that the Axis will hold strong again and that Mussolini will try to give to Hitler again a chance in the Balkans. I beg you to remember that Italy is not going to jockey Germany back into a position where she could be a rival in the Balkans. What Mussolini gained so easily he will not lose without a heavy fight and you see him already preparing. Italy is trying to do the following: Since 1936 Italy, Hungary and Jugoslavia have been trying to get into an alliance to stop German influence in the Balkans. The disagreeable thing for these three countries was that they had to keep their plans very secret because as soon as the Germans would know that there was coming a new alliance, a new power bloc, they would rush in and they would gulp up one country after another. So the Italian, Hungarian and Jugoslavian diplomacy was managed unofficially, and not officially, and the great difficulty again was that no one trusted the other. Every one was afraid that the other would betray the state of affairs to Mr. Hitler, and so their moves were very, very slow.

That was, of course, at a time when Germany was enormously strong. Now, Germany is very weak, so weak that it could not start a war against these three countries at the centre. Therefore, you have seen Mr. Mussolini move immediately and try to get this Neutrality Bloc together, with Hungary and Jugoslavia. I am not able to tell you whether this Neutrality Bloc is already safe. The only thing which I can tell you is that in my opinion all the diplomats from all the countries do overtime work—on the one hand, to make this new Bloc exist, and on the other, to destroy it before it comes into existence. The Germans will do everything to destroy this Neutrality Bloc, because if this Bloc is there Germany can as good as say "Goodbye" to any drop of Rumanian oil, and with that, too, the smallest chance of victory. I doubt if Germany could last longer than April with the stock of oil she has. If she doesn't get Rumanian oil she is finished, so she must go at this Neutrality Bloc before it becomes existent.

Germany can play her hand as she has done until now, by using the minorities. In the Balkans we have dozens of small peoples, all of whom are dissatisfied with the present régime. They would be dissatisfied with any régime, so it is always very easy to send money down there to bribe this man or that man and to start some sort of revolution, and all the governments, with the smallest exceptions, are not certain how long they will last. They have to rely on one party or the other, on one nation or the other, and even this is not quite certain, because there is quite a lot of propaganda going on there.

I read not so long ago in the press that King Carol was given the firm oath of allegiance by the people of Bessarabia as well as the Hungarians, and I am awfully sorry, but I don't think this is to be relied on. I know the Hungarians, and the people in Bessarabia and how the people there opposed to the present régime try to drag Rumania into a war, hoping to get rid of Rumania this way. I know, on the other hand, that King Carol is a very clever politician, and he knows that he cannot rely on the promises of the Nazis. Nobody can rely on them—you know that perfectly well. I have heard that also from the Hungarians. The Hungarians are just as opposed to joining Germany as the Rumanians are. It is just the same with the people of Jugoslavia. They know perfectly well if Germany should win they would lose every trace of their freedom, a freedom which is very dear to them. They may be dissatisfied with their régime or any régime, but they prize their freedom very highly. All these coutries will fight if their freedom is endangered, and it would be endangered if the Germans moved into Rumania.

Can this move be stopped? Germany wishes, now that Russian weakness is shown in Finland, to push troops at the Rumanian frontier, and it is a grave danger that the Germans will enter Rumania from the north. But it would not help very much. They have only one railway there and the Germans couldn't get very much out from Rumania this way. The only possible way to get Rumanian oil is to go through Hungary, and that means at present dragging Italy into a war, because we know Italy will not stand Germany getting hold of Rumanian oil and of the supremacy in the Balkans at the same time.

Italy has already deceived Germany in one great hope. The Germans never thought that the Italians would help them in the war, but they thought the Italians might stop the shipments of oil from Mesopotamia and the Irak. That has not been done. The Allies are receiving oil in great quantities and if you remember the saying that the last war was won on a sea of oil, you will know how important that is. Italy has not hindered these shipments until now, but Italy is going to hinder Germany from getting the Rumanian oil. For Italy needs this oil herself and she is not going to give to Germany these several millions of metric tons that Rumania is able to produce. And just as Germany needed it in peace time, it is absolutely certain that Rumania and Hungary need oil also. It is absolutely certain that the Balkans need this oil as well as Germany, so, even at the worst, if the Germans get hold of Rumania they would never get as much oil as they really need, even for peace time. To get hold of Rumanian oil they have to get Hungary. To move from the north into Rumania would not help.

How does Hungary stand? I know one of the gentlemen in the Cabinet over there. I spoke to him before I left Austria and I questioned him regarding the stand of the Hungarians in the coming war, because it was quite certain for us that the war would come. I was very much intrigued to see this gentleman wearing the badge of the

Swastika, showing thereby that he was pro-Nazi. I know the man very well and we had saved our lives when we fled and escaped from Siberia, so I could rely absolutely on him. I said, "What does the swastika flag mean?" He said, "Well, do you think we are going to suffer the same fate as Austria? Do you know what possibilities there are for a man who lives next to an elephant? There are only two possibilities for him. Either he angers the elephant, in which case he will be trampled to death, or he tickles his belly. Well, we are tickling the belly of that elephant."

The Germans think they have the Hungarians in their pocket. The Hungarian is, first of all, a Hungarian. He may be in some ways subscribed to some of the doctrines of Naziism. In Hungary we have a peasantry that is so poor and so wanting to have a redistribution of ground, and that is promised by the Nazis, but even the poorest peasant is at heart a Hungarian, and as soon as Hungary is attacked he will stand up and fight, and they are wonderful fighters. You may remember the time after Munich when Slovakia was dealt out, with the Hungarians trying to get hold of part of Slovakia. They got hold of it and later on the Germans began to provoke riots. You read in your newspapers that Hungarian planes had bombed Slovakia. You did not hear the story, I presume that was behind it. First, the Germans tried to get hold of Slovakia, at least the part that Hungary wanted, and they marched Slovakian soldiers over to Hungary, and planes. They were piloted by German pilots and they were all shot down in the shortest time. Germany stopped it because she saw that the Hungarians were superior—not in masses but in fighting spirit. I know that as soon as the Germans attack, the Hungarians will fight. They are only seven millions, but they are staunch fighters. I rate them at least as high as the Finns, to whom they are related. They are as staunch fighters and, just as the Finns, they are not given to bragging. They will prefer to die rather than give in.

Certainly Hungary is far more difficult to defend than Finland. Hungary is a vast plain, but in order to get hold of this vast plain, the Germans will need hundreds of thousands and they will have severe losses. Then when they have got the country, and I doubt if Hungary could withstand very long—I know from the Hungarian Army Officers how long they, themselves, think Hungary could fight—when they have got Hungary they will need a huge army of occupation to keep the Hungarians down, and that is the problem the Germans will have to face when they attempt to send oil from Rumania. This oil will have to go through Hungary. It will have to go through Austria. It will have to go through Czechoslovakia. And I think you know how inflammable oil is. The Germans have a very difficult question to get hold of Rumania without war—it seems impossible.

The other question is to get hold of Rumania, in spite of a war. The Rumanians are very clever politicians, and I have noted that after Russia had shown her weakness in Finland that King Carol immediately used the opportunity to show to Russia that he is not willing to concede Bessarabia.

I beg you to remember that Rumania has always managed to find the winning side. Even when she lost the war she was always on the side of the victor in the end. The straight opposition now to Stalin shows that Rumania knows perfectly well how things are going to go. At the moment the Rumanians are in a wonderful position. The Germans will do everything to get oil in a peaceful way. I think very soon we shall have the rather unique thing that Rumania will be guaranteed by the Allies, as well as by Germany. I can tell you that the Rumanians don't put any faith in a Nazi guarantee, but they will use it to gain their Marks. They are a rich country but they need, nevertheless, a lot of money and they can get very much from Germany. Whether this money in the end will be any good is another question but for the moment it will be of great use for political work in the Balkans and the Rumanians have a lot to spend it on. They must keep the Bulgarians quiet, and they must use the money as well to pacify Hungary, as well as to pacify Greece and Serbia.

Remember, please, that all these countries are mistrusting each other. All these countries wait for the moment that the other one falls and they have to have inside information and money is the best key for that. The Germans are providing this money. The Germans are providing as well, war materials. This could be used only against Russia, because Rumania is in the unhappy position not to be able to fight strongly against Germany because Rumania is cut up in two parts through the Carpathian Mountains, and the Germans could move very quickly if they once got Hungary.

Turkey plays quite another game. Turkey is not so vitally interested in the Balkans as formerly. Turkey needs two things: a free hand in Asia Minor, and that was formerly threatened by Italy, and the certainty that her country will not be attacked by Soviet Russia. Turkey has had one great chance again. The Turks are the fathers of diplomacy and they have used it very cleverly. They have got into close union with the Allies, knowing perfectly well that this is sufficient to guarantee for them Asia Minor, and knowing perfectly well that Russia will never be a great danger. Russia could press on Turkey only through the Caucasian Mountains. The Russians have got one railway only, and then they are faced with as wild a country as in Finland.

Now, I know my Russians very well and I don't want to disparage them. I only want to tell that the Russians are perfect geniuses for disorganization. If they are going to start a war against Turkey in the Caucasian Mountains, they will have even less success than with Finland, so there is no danger that the Turks might be taken away from the Allies through being afraid of Russia. On the other hand the Turks cannot and will not allow the Germans to arrive in the Black Sea.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Rumanian oil is very important. I told you Rumania's output of oil is 7,000,000 metric tons. That is just as much as Germany needs in peace time. Germany needs far more oil than that and she can only get that oil from Rumania through Hungary. With the Caucasian Mountains as a barrier she can never get oil from Russia through Rumania. She can get it only over the Black Sea after having got Rumania, and there she clashes with the Turks. Therefore you will see that when

Germany enters Rumania that the Turks will be fighting.

We have again the situation that the Balkans, as soon as touched by anyone, would explode like a powder keg. All these little countries will fight. They fight first of all for their freedom. Second, they fight to gain a little bit more territory, because these people still live in the belief that they can take a country from someone else and run it and use the people there as slaves. It is an idea that is still running wild with the Prussians and still running wild in the Balkans. The people there will fight strongly and it looks as if the best fighters would be on the Allied side. The Jugoslavs remember very well the German occupation in the last great war. The Jugoslavs are wonderful fighters. We learned about them in the last war, we admired them then and we admire them now.

We know the feeling in Jugoslavia, because one of our organization was in Jugoslavia at a time when a British Squadron had come in and was in one of their ports. The whole town was beflagged. Everywhere you saw the Jugoslavian flag and the flag of the Allies waving. The Squadron left after a stay of three days and scarcely had it left when in came an Italian Squadron. Inside of half an hour all the flags had disappeared because the Jugoslavs dislike the Italians. Later on when the Germans had taken Austria they sent to Belgrade to impress them, a division of their fighting and bombing planes. At the same time Prince Paul left Belgrade to inspect another part of his province, so the reception had to be given by the Lord Mayor of Belgrade. He received them very nicely and the Commander of the German Air Squadron asked the Lord Mayor to give his permission that the Germans might have a concert in the street. They had brought a band along. The Lord Mayor declined very politely, saying that he was afraid that this band would be beaten up in the first five minutes, so he would ask them to desist from playing.

This is the difficulty in Jugoslavia. They don't like the Italians and they hate the Germans. One part of Jugoslavia, Croatia, is playing and has played always a pro-German game, and the Germans will use this minority to hinder Jugoslavia from getting into close touch with Italy.

Hungary may be relied upon if Italy will send troops. I know the general opinion of the Italian fighting qualities. I know that the Italians are not rated extremely high, but in the present war it is very important to get the Italian air power on the side of Hungary, because that would stop Germany.

Germany cannot go through—I repeat it again and again because it is so important—before she has got hold of Hungary, and that can only be done by a flash war, by a "blitzkreig", though it will cost Germany a lot before she can get oil.

Will these gamblers try and play this one card? I know Hitler is very highly estimated outside. It is likely he is taken at his own valuation, and he values himself very high. The Germans will rush into Hungary when they know that a flash war will bring them victory. Will it bring in Italy? This is the question, I think, which is now behind the whole game. If it brings Italy against the Germans then a flash war and a success in Hungary does not help any, because with Italy in war comes the possibility to enter Austria and that would present no difficulties because Austria would be only too glad to see the Allies march in.

Will their gamble start a war, bringing Italy against them, with the faint chance that they will get Rumanian oil, just sufficient to go along, with the possibility of getting later on oil from the Caucasian Mountains?

I beg you to remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, that to ship all these things you must calculate with about four to five months. It takes four to five months to send oil from the Caucasian Mountains to Berlin. Will it help? I think not. But I think just as well that these inveterate gamblers will try everything before they give up because they know when they crash they will crash entirely. There will come a terrible revolution that will sweep them all away. There is no chance for them so they play for their own lives. They will try every move possible and the move that gives them the best possibility of success is in the Balkans, but they must move very quickly. The Danube is frozen up until the end of April. If they want to get oil up the Danube they can get it only after April and they need to start with their new offensive in the west about this time. They may keep the Allies stalemated over there but every day there is no decision in the west is a day won. Every day more and more planes are put out by the Allies. Every day they get stronger, and even if the Nazis get oil they will be then inferior with their planes.

You see, Hitler is in a terrible hole, and I think they already realize it inside of Germany. I had information the last time that the feeling in Germany is getting very bad. They expect results and that is another thing that will push Hitler to do something.

I wish to express once more that this is only my personal opinion, but I think before Easter time we shall see the development in the Balkans, because Hitler must get oil and he must get hold of the railways and of the trucks, and it won't be delivered to him without force.

I repeat that I do not think that Hitler, when he gets the oil, will be victorious, because Germany will crumble from the inside, but I think they will try everything before they absolutely crash. I thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen, we are very much indebted to Dr. Maresch for the excellent review that he has given us of the probable trend of events in the Balkans, and the obstacles to be overcome, and the necessity of Germany obtaining those vital sources of oil to further her aims. We can quite well appreciate this fact in view of the high state of mechanization of the armies of today. Coming so shortly after the excellent address of Mr. Hanson Baldwin, with his keen observation from the outside, of possible European movements, the Club is fortunate in having the views of one who knows from the inside the mental outlook of the peoples of Europe, and his forecast of the possible trend of events in the Balkans.

Dr. Maresch, I take much pleasure in extending to you, on behalf of the Members of the Empire Club, our hearty thanks and appreciation for your splendid address.

(Applause)

Before closing I would like to read to you a letter recently received from Sir William Mulock, acknowledging a message sent on the occasion of Sir William's 95th birthday from the Empire Club. Sir William replied, as follows:

"Your kind telegram on behalf of the Empire Club has deeply touched me. I would like you to make known to the Club how grateful I am for their good wishes.

(Signed) William Mulock."

"QUEBEC"

AN ADDRESS BY

HONOURABLE JAMES ARTHUR MATHEWSON, K.C.

PROVINCIAL TREASURER, QUEBEC GOVERNMENT.

Before the Empire Club and The Canadian Club

February 1, 1940

DR. F. A. GABY: Gentlemen: The Canadian and the Empire Clubs jointly take much pleasure in welcoming our distinguished guest from our sister province, the Honourable Mr. Mathewson.

Mr. Mathewson has recently been honoured by his appointment as Provincial Treasurer in the Quebec Government, under the Premiership of the Honourable Mr. Godbout—a position where he will have the opportunity of exercising the scope of his knowledge gained in municipal and government affairs.

Mr. Mathewson is a graduate of McGill University, receiving the degree of B.A. in 1912, and B.C.L. in 1917, and also took a post graduate course in the Sorbonne University, Paris. Mr. Mathewson has lectured in McGill University on Company Law. He served overseas with the 42nd Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada.

You will appreciate that at this time, during the war and during the election period, the Broadcasting Commission makes special rules and regulations in regard to broadcasting and, unfortunately, due to Mr. Mathewson's prominence in political life, the C.B.C. has ruled that on this occasion it is inexpedient to broadcast his address. They have, however, condescended to make a record of his speech at this time and arrange for broadcasting the same, subsequent to the Federal elections in March. This offer was graciously declined. Of course you know the rules and regulations have to be adhered to.

We have a great deal of pleasure in introducing the Honourable Mr. Mathewson, whose subject is entitled "Quebec".

HONOURABLE JAMES ARTHUR MATHEWSON, K.C.: Dr. Gaby, Gentlemen: I confess this is the first time I have found myself in harness of this kind (referring to microphone worn on coat) although I am in harness in Quebec, and you will sympathize with me, perhaps, by the time I am through, and you will understand I am trying to hold quite a load.

May I first of all thank you, Sir, and the President of the Canadian Club, for having afforded me this opportunity. It is a meeting of my friends in Toronto—I feel I am with friends—and it seems peculiarly suitable that the Empire Club and the Canadian Club should unite to hear what, in my humble way, I may have to say about Quebec, because, obviously, I think you will realize that Canada cannot exist without Quebec, and the Empire cannot exist without Canada.

The subject of my remarks to you today is "Quebec". I do not propose to cover all that vast territory. I would exhaust your patience, but I do want to say a few things on two problems. First, I must take advantage of this occasion to say a few words to you on our financial position, and I am going to take advantage of the opportunity further to say a few words to you on our political situation, not in a party sense, but in the true Canadian and Imperial sense.

Perhaps I should first remind you of the highlights in the history of Quebec. It became British permanently under the Treaty of Paris in 1763. That was four years after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, but that was not the first time that Quebec has passed under the British flag. It was, perhaps, not generally remembered, but some years before then, in the ebb and flow of the tide of destiny, Quebec had already been occupied, and then the shuffling of the cards of diplomacy had restored it to France, but in 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, French Canada became British. Those in the French Colony that desired to were accorded facilities to return to France, and those who, of their own free will, decided that they were prepared to become British subjects were given facilities to remain. The French-Canadians who remained then cast their lot with the British Empire, and from that decision they have never departed.

I say that to you because some of you—and I will return to the subject—may have at the back of your minds an unspoken doubt as to the true, the real loyalty of the population of Quebec. I surmise there are only a few who may entertain that doubt, but it is to those few I wish particularly to address myself.

Proceeding with the historical sketch, from 1763 Quebec was merely administered until 1774, when by the Quebec Act, an Act of the Imperial Legislature, it was given something of a Constitution. About that time, or a little later on, Ontario, as we know it, was born. The United Empire Loyalists pushed up from the States, the Scotch and the English citizens of Quebec followed the then unspoken words, "Go west, young man". They went west. They came to Ontario and by the constitutional Act of 1790, the two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada were recognized.

It is hardly necessary for me to more than touch upon the difficult days that followed. Shall I put it bluntly? The misadministration of the Family Compact, the lack of understanding of history, led to the trouble of 1837, when French-Canadians in Quebec and English-Canadians in Ontario joined on the issue of what they considered the abnegation of liberty.

Following those troubles, Lord Durham investigated on behalf of the British Government, and his report is a document that has failed to be measured at its true worth. It laid down the principle that Canada could only be British if self-governed, and having laid down that principle, he returned to England to make his report which was badly received. He was publicly humiliated and died a few years after, of a broken heart. But there is a tomb outside the town of Durham in England, erected posthumously by his friends, that is to him, and that should be to us a shrine where we Canadians should climb upon our bended knees, because it is to that man that we owe Canada. (Applause)

Coming to more recent times, there was the British North America Act of 1867, and finally, the Statute of Westminster. Those are the milestones in the historical course followed by Quebec and, along with Quebec, by Canada.

There have been certain incidents along that journey that I think require special attention. I wonder if it is in your memories that in the time of the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin, one of the leaders of that war, lived in Montreal? He came to Montreal, he established offices in what is now the Chateau de Ramezay, an historical building that you perhaps have visited. From that building he published a newspaper for the deliberate purpose of influencing Canadian opinion in the War of Independence. That paper, I believe, is the predecessor of the Montreal *Gazette*. Those who are unappreciative of that paper say that it was conceived in sin and born in iniquity, because it originated from the American shores. (That, I say frivolously. As you know, it is one of the finest papers in Canada.)

The attempt of Benjamin Franklin failed, as all such attempts have failed and, with God's help, will fail. They made no progress in influencing the sentiment of the people of the Province of Quebec to turn against the British connection.

Soon after, in the war of 1812, when American forces penetrated Canada, the French-Canadians resisted with arms. Montgomery fell at Quebec, and his retreat down through what is now the Eastern Townships was harrassed by French-Canadians. At Chateauguay, Colonel de Salaberry scored a brilliant military victory, and with that closing chapter our difficulties with the United States came to an end. Since then we have had no occasion whatever to come to acute disputes with them and probably the reason, or one of the reasons for our permanent peace is that we have applied the well-known doctrine that prevails in the Province of Quebec—"Bons clos font bons voisins"

—"Good fences make good neighbours". We have maintained an imaginary boundary line that both value in true perspective. Both respect it—they from their side, and we from our side. They have gone on to cultivate our friendship. We have gone on to cultivate their friendship and we have worked in friendship.

Another incident along the historical road I have attempted to trace for you that may have escaped your attention was in 1849, when the English-speaking Protestant populace of Montreal promoted riots that resulted in the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, because they resisted the Rebellion Losses Bill, that in proper form was passed by the Legislature. Before then there had been clamour for responsible government, but when that responsible government passed an Act that was unpalatable to the English-Protestant minority, they attempted to resist. In fact, they circularized, they published a colossal petition, asking that Canada be annexed to the United States. It was not the French-Canadians who did that. The French-Canadians resisted that, and in the clash, as I remind you, the Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned, and by that nefarious act, Montreal was purged of the influence of politics. It never since has been the capital, and I think that is to the benefit of Montreal.

Now, proceeding to our own times, I must mention a passing influence—then I am done with that aspect of what I have to say. Three times within the memory of living men, an attempt has been made within the Province of Quebec, to awaken or stir up an isolationist or a so-called Nationalist sentiment.

In our fathers' time, the generation preceding mine, there was a clamorous, noisy, small group, who called themselves "Les Castors" (the Beavers) who sought to assert a local, narrow outlook.

The reply of the French-Canadian populace was to bring forward as their representative a young man who was a graduate of McGill University, a French-Canadian who, from the beginning of his career until its closing words, was the apostle of Canadian unity. I refer to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Applause) That movement caused but the slightest ripple on the calm surface of Quebec, but just before the last war recrudescence seemed to make itself evident. An attempt was made, a movement was initiated called the Nationalist Movement and, let me say it to the humiliation of those concerned, while that movement was initiated by an earnest man who believed in his own sincerity in Quebec, it was financed by those from outside Quebec, and it was financed to the extent of $6,000 for the purpose of founding a newspaper for the inexcusable political expediency of attempting to torpedo Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the Province of Quebec.

That movement again failed, as all such movements have failed and shall fail in the Province of Quebec.

At last we thought we had done with such matters, but there was an echo, a faint attempt to stir up some similar sentiment not so long ago. Quebec was asked on the 25th of October, 1939, to declare itself in an election in which there were two issues. The principle issue was Quebec's attitude toward participation in the war. The subsidiary question was one of provincial financing.

The answer was overwhelming to the first question. Party tradition and inclination were thrown to the winds. Some of my friends humbly confessed they had committed two offences which they hoped fate would spare them, on the 25th of October. I remember, particularly, one man who lacked that affection for the Y.M.C.A. that some of us have and he said he had hoped he would never go into the Y.M.C.A. and he had hoped he would never vote Liberal—and he did both on the same day, with the result —well, you know what that was. It is the answer of John Baptiste to those who would seek to mislead him, seek to make him appear to be anti-British, seek to make it seem he failed to appreciate and value his position in the British Empire.

Now, if he values that position, that does not at all mean that his expression of Imperial sentiment is necessarily identical with that from other parts of Canada or other parts of the Empire, but he had the honour and the responsibility to be first to vote in all the British Empire on the question of the war, and the result, again I repeat, you know. The answer was overwhelming.

The financial aspect, John Baptiste knew something of, too. Long before he knew the figures, he sensed that all was not well. Public works were carried on elaborately, not to say extravagantly, but local suppliers and even wages were not paid for long periods of time. John Baptiste is a thrifty man. He knows a dollar is something he must work for and the fact that there were some people apparently engaged on public enterprises who failed to deliver a dollar's worth of work for the dollar they received disturbed him, and that also had an influence in the election.

If any of you have had the good fortune to travel in the more remote parts of the Province of Quebec—and if you haven't had that experience may I hope for your sake and ours you will have it—if you travel through some of the smaller villages, may I urge upon you that you seek an opportunity of making the acquaintance of M. le Curé. You will find him a man of kindliness and charm, a man of simple taste and simple outlook. He will want to show you his garden. He will indicate to you the roses that he has cultivated, the shrubs, the violets, the other successes that he has attained. He may even ask you to smoke some of the tobacco that he has grown in his garden. If he does, let firmness temper your politeness. If, however, you have the good fortune to be able to decline the suggestion in passable French, you will so warm the old gentleman's heart that he will take you into his house and he will give you a cigar from the secret box that he keeps for the Bishop and other distinguished visitors.

Now, Monsieur le Curé was conscious of what was happening, and Monsieur le Curé kept his peace, but he thought much. There is no citizen in Quebec more conscious of the value, of the necessity, of the British connection than the Roman Catholic clergy. It may surprise you but I assure you it is a fact. They have never failed to teach and to preach and to give their moral support to true British citizenship. Not in the Imperialistic sense. That would mean the subservience of Canada, the submersion of Canada, or the relegating of Canada to a secondary place.

Our conception of Imperialism in Quebec is this, that by building Quebec we build Canada and by building Canada we build the Empire. The practical issue is one that you may ask me to explain. Are we bearing our share? Have we done what we should?

The censorship rules have been conveniently suspended, and I am grateful for the fact, because it makes it possible for me to speak to you in this intimate way. Even those censorship rules, although suspended, still prohibit my citing to you figures concerning enrolment and enlistment of troops, but I can assure you, very positively, and definitely, that the French-Canadian regiments in the Province of Quebec were among the first to come up to full strength and their potential reserves are still ready, still willing, still eager to come forward and do their part.

The gallant history of the French-Canadian regiments, particularly of the Royal 22nd, (and practically every other regiment in the last war had in it some French-Canadians) make it unnecessary for me to even outline the accomplishments of their daring.

My friend, Colonel Blackader, on my right, will remember the 22nd was in the Battle of the Somme. No more gallant action was ever fought than that by those men on that particular day. They repeated their gallantry at Vimy. There was no engagement when they did not distinguish themselves, and when some unthinking man from another part of Canada casts a reflection upon the honour and loyalty of French-Canada, he forgets the wound to the hearts of people whose sons sleep their last sleep in France. They died as gallantly as any other member of the British Expeditionary Force, and they are entitled to just a little more credit, because their sacrifice was purely voluntary, it was not prompted by that emotional link that ties us to those of our own language and, perhaps, own blood. In larger things they are British subjects by choice and conviction and you can rely on them to be British subjects to the end of the days of Canada.

I said I would speak briefly about finances. While dollars are dead things compared with human history, they play a part in that human activity in which we are all engaged. The present administration found a disconcerting situation when it took charge of the destinies of Quebec. I must consult my notes for fear of allowing my memory to trick me. I won't burden you with minute details. I shall merely tell you, we owe at this minute, the highly respectable sum of $419,000,000. That is the whole sum—direct and indirect commitments. The consolidated debt which in 1936 was $130,000,000, three years later, in 1939, had been augmented by a further $148,000,000.

In other words, at the end of three centuries of progress in the Province of Quebec, from the time of Champlain, down to 1936, the Province was left with a consolidated debt of $130,000,000, and in three years, as against three centuries, that debt was more than doubled.

These are facts of a situation we must face. The floating debt and other figures were equally disconcerting. The total floating or funded debt amounts to the substantial sum, again, of $102,000,000. That includes future commitments which are not yet due, but they are matters that must be taken into consideration to attain a true picture of our finances.

In addition there are certain guarantees we must consider. There was one item in the Balance Sheet I referred to when I spoke for the first time, I have been trying to work and not talk since at Quebec—I have spoken once and on that occasion I mentioned an item in the Balance Sheet of $15,000,000, and I referred to it in these terms. I said, "A special loan was made to assist the Bank of Hochelaga to help the Quebec Nationale Banque over a difficult time some years ago." I then said, "The loan is still existent, although I am glad to tell you the necessity for it long since disappeared, because the Bank has not only since re-established itself, but has made substantial progress."

What I should have said on that occasion and say now, was that that debt was contracted by a former government for the purpose of saving the depositors and the shareholders of the former Banque Nationale from disaster. Provincial government bonds were given for the purpose of saving a desperate situation and it then was the Bank of Hochelaga which was induced to come to the rescue and assume the liabilities and the assets of the old Banque Nationale, which ceased to exist. The Bank of Hochelaga took the situation into its strong hands and has made good. The name of the Bank of Hochelaga has been changed today to the Banque Canadien de Nationale, and through its effective efforts, I am glad to be able to say the transaction just outlined has not cost the Government of Quebec one dollar.

I take advantage of this opportunity to make that statement because my brief allusion that I intended as a descriptive sentence has perhaps made a wrong impression. It was not to the Bank of Hochelaga they made the advance, it was to assist them in curing a difficult situation.

Gentlemen, you are entitled to ask, "Well, if you have all these debts and that situation to face, what are you going to do about it?" I am not a politician. I never was a politician. I hope I never will be. But I have learned already it is impolitic to make rash statements. Still further, it is impolitic to declare in detail in advance what the government proposes to do. It is not that citizens are not willing to be taxed, but if they get a hint of anything of the kind, they seem to think it appropriate, they who can criticize, to try to arrange matters so as to have the burden fall on someone else.

Mr. Winston Churchill referred to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in words that perhaps would fit the Provincial Treasurer, the other day, when he said "that man upon whom such heavy burdens fall and from whom such heavy burdens fall."

What we propose to do—and I say this for your assurance—the Province of Quebec can and will faithfully and honourably discharge, to the last cent, its every obligation. (Applause) From the time of its earliest existence down to date, Quebec has never defaulted for one cent on principal or interest of any loan and it never will. The policy of the present administration is to cut our coat to suit our cloth. If that coat is not sufficiently large to cover the body politic, we will have to stretch the cloth, but we are more conscious of the necessity of reducing expenditures than we are of reducing the tax burden and in connection with the tax burden, may I take advantage of this occasion to say, while I am here in Toronto, I hope for an opportunity to discuss with your distinguished Premier and your Provincial Treasurer, how to eliminate duplication of taxation, to make clear the basis of corporation taxation where companies overlap the provincial boundary, and if possible, to simplify and again, to be ready to, as far as possible, eliminate duplication of taxation in matters of succession duties. (Applause)

The practical issue of finance, however, is something that is tedious for you to listen to at this time of day. The best assurance you have, of not merely the good intention, but of the ability of Quebec to meet its obligations, I think is answered, if you will allow me to make certain limited personal allusions.

It may be significant that the fact that over the post offices of this country there flies the Union Jack, and not a flag that at one time was popular here—the Merchant Marine insignia, with an emblem in the corner of it. The fact that we use, and for many years have used, the Union Jack is attributable to the decision of one man, the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, who, as Postmaster General, put that ruling in effect, and who lost his only son in keeping that flag flying. (Applause)

There is an illustration of the sincerity, of the patriotism of French-Canada. I hesitate—in fact it would be wrong for me if I were now broadcasting—to more than mention that august person at the head of the Civil Service of the Province of Quebec, the Lieutenant-Governor. You are perhaps aware that we have a distinguished soldier, Major-General Sir Eugene Fiset, whose military career started with the Boer War, and whose services to Canada, to Quebec, and the Empire have continued ever since, as our Lieutenant-Governor. He comes from a small town on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and the principal statue in that small town of Rimouski, is one of a figure in bronze, erected to the memory of a French-Canadian by the name of Brillant, who won the Victoria Cross, and who laid down his life in the last war.

That is the atmosphere at Quebec at present. That is the nature of the outlook on the patriotism you will find, not in isolated cases, but throughout the Province. In conclusion I must refer to my own Chief, our Prime Minister. No one can look into the calm gray eyes, the intelligent countenance, with firm lips and square cut chin of the Honourable Adelard Godbout, without realizing he is a man of honour, a man of capability, a man of integrity, a man of intelligence and a true patriot, and I assure you, Gentlemen, that the destiny of Quebec, the destiny of Canada—yes, of the British Empire—is safe in the hands of such as he.

I must thank you very sincerely for having afforded me the opportunity of coming to speak to you. I came to speak to you as Canadians, resident in Ontario, who are interested in Canadians resident in Quebec. May I ask that many of you will follow my humble example, and cross that imaginary line that can never divide the Province of Quebec and the Province of Ontario.

Thank you. (Applause—prolonged)

Professor N. A. M. MacKenzie: Gentlemen: In a sense I am more fortunate than Dr. Gaby, because of necessity he had to speak in anticipation of events to come, and what he said about our honoured guest was said in that way. I can speak in the light of accomplished fact, and I think that everything that Dr. Gaby said about our guest was not only in order, but didn't begin to say what we would like to say about him, now that he has accomplished his task.

I was particularly interested in the courteous way in which he said that he and others in Quebec felt that Quebec could only exist if Canada carried on. Some of the rest of us feel, I think, with some confidence, that without Quebec the rest of Canada would not be the Canada that it is, and it is questionable whether it would be Canada at all or not. (Applause) I think some of us, too, had the idea that the election held there some little time ago was concerned with an issue of Canadian unity, and with the issue of the participation of Quebec with the rest of Canada in the war effort of Canada. What our guest has said to us today is most encouraging and re-assuring on that point, and on behalf of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club, I would like to extend to the Honourable Mr. Mathewson our thanks and our gratitude for his coming here and for describing to us in such an encouraging and re-assuring way the attitude of his fellow countrymen and our fellow countrymen in the Province of Quebec. (Applause)

"THIS DEMOCRATIC EMPIRE"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUT.-COL. WILFRID BOVEY, O.B.E.

Chairman: Mr. E. F. Thompson

Thursday, February 8, 1940

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, may I have your attention for a minute? It is with very deep regret that I announce the death of Dr. Albert Ham, who was President of the Empire Club during the year 1915-1916, and who was also a life member of the Club. He passed away on Sunday last, in Brighton, England, where he has been residing since he left Canada two years ago. Dr. Ham was in his 83rd year. The Empire Club of Canada has sent the following cables. One to his widow, reading:

"President, Directors and Members, Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, greatly regret passing of our former President and Life Member and respectfully tender you sincere sympathy in your loss."

The other cable was to Captain Lyman Crawford-Brown, formerly a member of the Executive and now overseas with the 48th Highlanders:

"Doctor Ham, one time President Empire Club, died Sunday at Brighton. Would appreciate your communicating with widow in person, if possible, tendering sincere condolence of Club. We are cabling her also."

He was a most lovable character and his memory will live long with those who had the privilege of knowing him.

Gentlemen, it is suggested that in memory of Dr. Ham you might stand for a moment. (A minute of silence observed in memory of Dr. Ham.)

Gentlemen of the Empire Club, also our Radio audience: We are today greatly favoured with the presence of Lieut.-Col. Wilfrid Bovey, O.B.E., one of Canada's prominent sons, who has taken a most active part in military affairs. He served overseas during the Great War with distinction, being mentioned in despatches and made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire, Military Branch, and he was also decorated by the French. After demobilization, he remained on the reserve of Officers with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and has since been doing splendid work on behalf of the Legion. He is National Chairman of the Educational Branch of Canadian Legion War Services.

He is Director of Extra Mural Relations, McGill University, and at present is Chairman of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, a Member of the English Bar, and a fellow of the Royal Society.

He has written a number of articles, mainly dealing with historical subjects, Canadian and American, and two books on the French-Canadians, which have enabled English-speaking people to acquire more knowledge of North America's group of French-speaking people. In recognition of this work he has been made an Officer of the Legion of Honour of France, and received the Honorary Degree of LL.D. His work in the field of literature was this year recognized by the Royal Society of Canada which awarded him the Lorne Pierce Medal for literature.

It is my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you Lieutenant-Colonel Wilfrid Bovey, O.B.E., who has chosen for his subject, "This Democratic Empire". (Applause)

LIEUT.-COL. WILFRID BOVEY, O.B.E.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I must begin by thanking you very much, Mr. Chairman, for your extremely kind introduction. I always find it very difficult to live up to these introductions because I don't feel at all like the person you are talking about.

The title of these remarks contains a contradiction in terms. The word *democracy* means the rule of all the people and the word *empire,* whatever it means, has up to this time involved a completely different idea. There are more contradictions than that about the British Empire. The British Empire is not, in any strict sense of the word, British and it is not an empire in any sense in which the word has ever been used before. The only part to which the word *Empire* is properly applied is India. India is not yet one of our democratic states—it never has been part of any democratic system. India took no part in the making of the Statute of Westminster, which declared the present constitutional position of the nations of the Empire and which never used the word *Empire* at all. The other sections of the Empire which are not self-governing had no part in that legislation either. When I speak of our democratic Empire I mean specifically the nations which the Statute of Westminster mentions, the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. One of those has changed its name since and one has a temporary government of another kind but the group is the same. The word *empire* implies a monarchial government. Here is an empire with one section a republic; that section is today neutral but for the first time in many, many years its people are pro-British. The word *empire* connotes a central authority, yet here is an empire without any central authority, it has no capital except where its King may be; and the title of that king declares that he rules by divine right, while we all know that he rules because his people have acknowledged him as king.

In three of the states mentioned in the Statute of Westminster—Canada, Eire, and South Africa—people of British origin are in a minority. Eire is a republic with its own flag. Yet the leading club of Eire is still the Royal Irish Yacht Club, and it still flies the Blue Ensign. In one part of the Empire the King is not King at all, but Duke—such is his lawful title in the Channel Islands, which are all that is left of the Ancient Duchy of Normandy.

There are a few contradictions—now what about the greatest contradiction of all, what is this British Democracy on which our Empire is founded, and for which we are fighting? We come very quickly to another contradiction—we find that this democracy is not British, if you mean by British something derived from or depending upon Britain.

The word British has had all sorts of meanings. Once it was used as the equivalent of Welsh, then Great Britain became the name of the United Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and I can remember old Scottish people—my grandmother was one of them—who were always furious when any one spoke of England and the English as if the words included Scottish and the Scots. During the Revolutionary War, *British* was the word used by the Americans to describe their enemies. Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne talked for the first time of the British Empire in Parliament and a little later we hear of British North America. During the last war the Canadians used the word *British* to mean troops from the United Kingdom. But when we say British Empire today we have again given the word *British* a new meaning altogether. The preamble to the Statute of Westminster contains this paragraph: "And whereas it is meet and proper to state by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

The word *British* as used in that paragraph is an identifying adjective. It identifies, it does not describe the group of nations to which it refers. That is what British means in the phrase—the British Empire. As for the word *Empire* it has a new meaning, too. The Statute of Westminster attempts to explain it by using the words "free association" and the word "Commonwealth". I do not know that I can do much better. Now, when we speak of British democracy we mean the kind of government which has been developed by and is held in common by the nations of the British Empire. It seems to me important to get this clearly into our heads. There is a very distinct tendency for people of British birth (and now we are using British in another sense of the word) to think of British democracy as something which is their particular property, a kind of autochthonous English growth transported by the English and the Scots to less fortunate portions of the globe. As a matter of fact that conception is completely wrong. The English of the earliest days brought with them from their earliest home which was presumably in the region of Friesland, before the Zuider Zee was in existence, some rudimentary ideas of parliamentary power. We have been told by many historians that their public assemblies chose their leaders. Modern theories have considerably modified older ones and there is little doubt that among the low German peoples, whether those who migrated to England or not, there were always families of better blood, presumably considered as descended from gods, from whom the leaders were chosen. Writers of today hesitate to agree with Motley in his statement that Low German leaders were not kings but generals.

Several hundred years later there was a settlement of northmen in England which is now known to have been far more important than was previously realized. So large indeed was the Scandinavian immigration that its traces persist not only in place names—like Whitby and Grimsby, Weardale and Teesdale, but in the popular tongue. Until very recently a Swede could talk his own language in Yorkshire and be understood. The old Norse tongue which the Vikings spoke was modified in England and modified in Scandinavia but among the common people it changed far less than among the educated.

The Scandinavian, like the Low German peoples, had democratic customs and public assemblies. They had, in combination with those, the same method of electing kings from among royal families. They were accustomed to the use of parliaments, local and general, called *things* and *althings*. In England the two ideas would have become one had it not been for the interruption of the Norman Conquest which followed not long after the last Scandinavian settlements in the north country.

Now let us look at the Norman contribution to our democracy. The Normans imported into France from Norway and Denmark their original Scandinavian notions of government.

Rollo, the first Norse Duke of Normandy, was called upon to pay the usual homage to the King of France but he would not stoop to kiss the king's foot—he pulled the foot in the air and the King fell over backward. His followers imitated his independence, he was their leader, primas inter pares, but that was all.

As early as 997 A.D. there was a revolt in Normandy. The common people claimed the right to join in making the laws. The uprising was sternly repressed but the tradition of democracy was nourished by the blood of those who suffered. Later when William came to claim the crown of England he was still only Duke of Normandy—we have observed that our own King is still Duke of the Channel Islands—although by reason of an admixture of royal blood he now had the claims to royalty which Rollo had lacked. He called a Parliament of his barons and tried to persuade them to support the expedition. He failed. Then he called a parliament of the townsmen and among them he succeeded. With this card to play he went back to the barons as individuals and this time won them over.

From this time democratic traditions lived on separately in England and in Normandy. Normandy indeed was the one part of France in which they never quite disappeared. The Norman municipalities were the first to be chartered; the Norman guilds were the first to be formed, the Norman was never willing to give up his right of public meeting. Normandy, like England, had its Magna Carta granted in 1315, guaranteeing property, stability of currency, regular requisitions instead of armed demands, and improved judicial procedure. It was a Magna Carta as important to the Normans as was that of Britain to the English; it was followed by the calling of parliament which met at Pont Audemer in 1337 and was given the name of the *Etats Généraux,* the "General Estates", since it contained representatives of clergy, nobles and commons. This gathering was the mother of the similar elective assemblies of other provinces, and of the French nation as a whole, which, because they were elective, were more formidable than the assemblies of "Notables" selected by the King in France and later by the Governor of Canada.

As time went on the French Kings violated the Norman Charter more and more frequently, but never with Norman goodwill. The Rouen traders always resented French interference as today they consider themselves oppressed by Paris and by the State as a whole. "It has killed our province" says a Norman historian, "and as indemnity presents us with a magnificent capital. It is not enough . . . Paris, the capital, has made itself manager of our national property, has given no inspiration, no advice, nothing but indications of indifference." The Norman Charter of 1315 was followed, more than four hundred years later, by the demands of the last "General Estates", held in 1780 at Paris after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years since the preceding meeting.

About the same time as the Norman conquest a new set of ideas influenced statesmen. I wonder how many of you have read the first English manual of statesmanship. It was written by Bishop John of Salisbury in the 13th century, and it sets out 13th century notions of government in an extraordinary interesting fashion. In this book we find the monarchy regarded as a combination of Biblical and classical kingships. In the course of Bishop John's arguments he sometimes contradicts himself for in one place he tells us that a king when he becomes a tyrannical ceases to be a king, while elsewhere he adopts the ecclesiastical theory that even a tyrant must be obeyed because he holds his power from God. Other writers, Bracton, for instance, declare that the king's court may restrain tyranny. It was on this latter theory that Charles was tried and the description of him as a tyrant in the proceedings of his trial is a technical one, not a mere generality. The only conception of democracy which John of Salisbury had is that the king must be elected. When he made this remark his hand was forced by facts since he discovered the kings of England went through the formality of election which had come down from the Low German and Scandinavian peoples. But he could justify himself, because he found that King David was elected in precisely the same way as a Scandinavian or a Low German monarch.

The theory of monarchy thus set forth gradually became that of the French kings. When they had reduced their troublesome vassals to order they gave up calling parliaments—much, as I have said, to the disgust of the Normans. Most of the other French people accepted the situation and it was never altered until the revolution.

I am sure I do not need to tell you of the struggle in England between the classical theory of monarchy as discussed by John of Salisbury and the democratic ideas enshrined in the traditions of parliament, the struggle which came to a head in the time of Charles I—came to a head is probably right. Since that time the power of parliament, king, lords and commons, in England has developed until the authority of the king himself, or what is technically called the crown, the executive authority, is ultimately subject to popular control. I do want to point out that the same traditions of democracy derived from the same sources, are part of the inheritance of the two principal minorities of the Empire, the South African Dutch and, in our own country, the French Canadians.

The South African Dutch are, as you know, descended from the same low German peoples as came to England from across the North Sea. You will remember that I spoke to you about the similarity of language between Sweden and Yorkshire. There was, a few years ago, exactly the same similarity of language between Essex and that part of Holland which is still called Friesland, the language of which differed considerably from real Dutch. "Good butter and good cheese is good English and good Fries". If a young woman on the Island of Marken, where the people spoke Fries, wanted to brag about her infant she said, "Dis is de bijby". If a young woman in Essex wanted to do the same thing she used the same words, pronounced in the same way, "Dis is de biby". It cost the Dutch in Holland a long struggle and seas of blood to free themselves from monarchial tyranny, but in the end they succeeded. By the beinning of the last century there was a considerable Dutch settlement in South Africa which was handed over to Great Britain in 1815 for six million pounds. The subsequent history of South Africa, of which we in Canada know a great deal too little, was marked by constant change of policy on the part of the Home Government up to the time of the last South African war, and by disunity and deterioration among the South African Dutch. Yet among the Dutch in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, the parliamentary tradition persisted. Even in the darkest times the Transvaal Volksraad, however inefficient, existed and insisted on its powers. It would not for instance give to Mr. Burgers, probably the best President the Transvaal ever had, the dictatorial authority for which he asked in 1877. The stubborn refusal of the Transvaalers to give in to British demands at a later date, however justified the demands were and however unjustified the refusal, is at least a mark of the same spirit. The unity of policy between South Africa and the other nations of the Empire at the present moment would never have come about had it not been that the Union of South Africa had been able to link peoples of different language, and the Union of South Africa has been able to link those people because, and only because they possess identical traditions of government derived from identical sources.

Now turn to the other great minority of the Empire, the French Canadians. They are probably for the most part of Norman blood. If they are not mostly of Norman blood they are definitely inheritors of Norman traditions. They have always believed in public meetings and the settlement of questions by public meetings, and although the king of France produced an edict forbidding anything of the kind, the meetings still went on.

There are two little villages near Quebec, Deschambault and Portneuf, about ten miles apart. Some years before the Cession a man from Portneuf once called a man from Deschambault a rude name. He said, "Peeled head". The Deschambault man was bald, but it was hardly his fault, he had been scalped. Deschambault held a public meeting and decided to have a war on Portneuf to begin on the next day of Pentecost. Why they chose that day I don't know.

Portneuf had a meeting and accepted the ultimatum. Fortunately, the authorities in Quebec heard about the war and issued an order that the generals were to be sent to Quebec in irons and that anyone who went to the war was to be fined $1.25. After the cession to England the Crown in Canada, as we all know, exercised its authority in an entirely unjustifiable way and there were many abuses. As a result came the troubles both in Upper and Lower Canada. Into that story there is no need to go but we all know that its final result was the recognition of parliamentary power and responsible government. We all know that parliamentary power and responsible government in Canada led to similar institutions throughout the British Empire and so to that Statute of Westminster of which we spoke a little while ago.

In the Lower St. Lawrence region of the Province of Quebec the French Canadians still have the remnants of the local things of Scandinavia. The would-be candidate in the election which we shall shortly face must present himself to a series of "Parlements". Each parlement is a gathering of local people of sufficient importance to entitle them to be present, in a section of his constituency. And he must be able to hold his end up in a very violent argument. The persistence of the ancient tradition is shown by the use of the word "Parlement", the same word as is used for our central governing body. So more than a thousand years ago in Scandinavia were assembled local Things which dealt with local matters. When the Northmen learned French in the 10th century, they took the French word *Parlement* as a translation of *Thing*. They used the same word for the *Althing,* the general parliament.

The Canadian Association for Adult Education recently sponsored a book called *The Corner Stone of Democracy, the Discussion Group.* These little French Canadian parlements of the Lower St. Lawrence are political discussion groups with a history of more than a thousand years—now if you want to find the corner stone of Canadian democracy you know where to look for it. Side by side with that persistent tradition in French Canada there persists another. This second tradition comes down directly from that which caused the Scandinavians and the Friesians to choose their leaders from kingly families. The French Canadian, in the country in any case, demands that his leader be a man whom he can respect as a gentleman. Curiously enough he uses, more often than not, the English word. It is extremely difficult to explain what he means by gentleman in this connection. I do not suppose that the French Canadian could explain it himself. All I can say is that he has an instinct as to the sort of leader he wants and in the end that is the sort of leader he will have. Some of you will say, "But that is undemocratic." I have only one question to ask: Are we any less democratic because we have chosen George VI as King?

We have in Canada today an exact parallel to the situation in South Africa. The French Canadians are not a majority as are the Dutch-speaking South Africans, although it may be news to some people there are three-quarters as many Canadians of French as of British origin. I am quite sure that the average French Canadian has the same point of view regarding this war as the average English Canadian. Long before the question of intervention became a live one two surveys were made in different parts of the Province of Quebec, both by French Canadians. Both produced the same result. Typical farming communities considered it necessary to put an end to Mr. Hitler's threats. "Give me a gun and let me chase him", as one old gentleman told me.

I cannot tell you, because I do not know, the precise figures of French Canadian enlistment. I do know that there has never been any trouble in obtaining recruits, often there have been more than were wanted. I do know that French Canadians feel proud that they are coöperating with the rest of us and that perhaps for the first time their coöperation is appreciated. None of this could have happened had it not been for those traditions of democracy which in Canada as in South Africa have been able to make of one kind people of different tongues.

There is another nation in the Empire which has sent its sons and daughters mainly to Canada and to Australia. That nation is Eire. I have heard in this country reproaches against Eire for remaining neutral. Those reproaches are not only unjustified, they are excessively foolish. Let me tell you what seems to me a good reason. Suppose that Eire had not remained neutral. There would have been an immense amount of propaganda in the United States to the effect that Eire had once more been dragooned into war by Britain. I leave to your imagination how much chance the change in the Neutrality Act would have had of getting through Congress in the face of that propaganda. I do not suppose that is the reason why the Eire Government remained neutral, but any British statesman should be very glad that they did. Eire of the old days was a kingdom or a group of kingdoms and a highly civilized country. Today it is a republic and a highly democratic one. The stern measures the government has taken with the I.R.A. are good enough proof. Eire, neutral or not, is serving with the rest of us in the maintenance of democracy.

Suppose we tried to guide our association of nations by the principles of Lenin and his followers, or by those of Hitler and his followers, in either case we should be resigning ourselves to the control of a clique, a gang, or whatever you like to call it. Lenin, himself, has pointed out that the proletariat cannot govern, that it must be governed by a highly specialized group. This is a long way from the notions of Marx, Hitler, Goering, Ribbentrop, and the rest we know by their actions. The people under their rule have no democratic traditions. Not many of the Germans of Germany come of the Nordic stock which they claim or of the Low German stock from which the English sprang. Most of them are of the Alpine race. The parliamentary tradition, if it ever existed in Germany, ceased long ago, and the sporadic efforts to reconstruct it have been complete failures.

What are the characteristics of the democracy which we peoples of the British Empire have so inherited from our forbears, English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch?

I do not believe that I need to tell you. In the first place you have heard and incredible number of speeches on this subject; in the second place, and far more important, you are intelligent men who have practised democracy as a form of government all your lives. Perhaps you will forgive me if I tell you my private formula. Democracy to me is the only kind of government in which law and liberty can be reconciled. (Applause) I know perfectly well that we have made mistakes. I know that sometimes laws have invaded liberty. I know that sometimes liberty has defied law. Yet all these mistakes have been remedied. We have suffered, often for years, before they have been remedied, but a democratic people is like a man with a strong constitution; it has the power within itself to throw off its sicknesses.

That is what a nation such as Germany or Russia cannot do. Firstly, National Socialism and Communism are both based, as I have already said, on control by a group. Secondly, as I have also said, neither the German nor the Russian peoples have any democratic traditions. Read the history of Lenin's rise to power in Russia and the history of Hitler's success in Germany—you will find that the stories are completely parallel and that there is nothing democratic about them. Both are stories of organized minority group successes; I could use a more unpleasant name but I will not.

I said a moment ago that a democracy can throw off its sicknesses. Now our Canadian democracy is faced with two dangers, and one danger is far greater than the other. There is a danger, there is always a danger in times like these, that public apathy will have the same effect on Canada as it has had before, that we shall leave all the work and all the responsibility and all the decisions to a few people. Up to a certain point that is what we must do, but I am not really afraid of that danger at all. Some are exaggerating it for their own ends, and some of us are inclined to believe them. As for myself, I have complete faith in our own peoples with a thousand years of democracy in their blood. No government of any country in the Empire will ever get away altogether from that tradition. (Applause)

There is another danger and of this danger we should be very much afraid. The danger is that evil shepherds masquerading as wise leaders will guide a large and ever larger number of sheep into the way that leads to destruction. I do not need to tell you how the propaganda is produced. The favourite subject at present is conscription. I could say quite a lot about conscription with which a good many of you would not agree. I shall venture on just two statements. First of all, we never needed conscription in the last war. We had more volunteers than we ever had men in France. Why we had conscription I do not know, but I know that the law was not applied in the same way in different places.

Secondly, we need fifty men in Canada for every fighting man serving in the forces. That is where the position of Canada is completely different to that of England or France. We shall, I am certain, find a very large proportion of the future Air Force, but we must have ten or twelve men on the ground in Canada for every pilot. You see just as well as I do where this argument leads. The proportion of those who will fight to those who may take some other part is entirely different to what it was in 1917. You cannot conscript for one job without conscripting for every job.

Both the present Government and the present Opposition see this perfectly clearly, and have declared that no conscription will be necessary and that there will be none. In spite of this, some people have sedulously spread among our youth the notion that Canada must have an enormous force and that conscription must be enforced. Those magi have said it so it must be true. The result is that a great many young people are setting forth a programme against conscription.

You gentlemen call yourselves an Empire Club, and I am sure that you are loyal to your name. I am sure that you value and will continue to value this democratic empire. We all have tasks ready to our hands. If you are looking for a place in this democratic empire where democracy need be guarded, where the evil shepherds are at work, you need not look at Dutch-English South Africa, you need not look at Labour-controlled New Zealand, you need not look at French-Canadian Quebec, you need look no farther than the County of York.

(Applause—prolonged)

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I am going to ask the Honourable Dr. Bruce to say a word of thanks to the speaker.

HONOURABLE DR. BRUCE: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: Very little need be said by me in an expression of thanks to Colonel Bovey for his very admirable and scholarly address. Colonel Bovey served in the last war from its inception until two years after its close. He occupied the very important post of an A.C.M.G. and was closely associated with the late General Sir Arthur Currie. Not only had he that intimate association with General Currie during the war, but General Currie, knowing of his great ability, induced him to become associated with him in McGill University following the war, where he has been ever since 1923 in charge of External relations, a position in McGill similar to that occupied by our own Mr. Dunlop in Toronto.

We are very pleased also to have a gentleman from McGill University address us in Toronto. As you all know, McGill is a very great University, and second only to the University of Toronto. After listening to this very able address I am sure you will all appreciate why Colonel Bovey was selected as President of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and why he is so competent to be now in charge of the educational arrangements which are being made, or have been made by the Canadian Legion. Like Colonel Bovey, Mr. Dunlop is in charge of that work for the Province of Ontario.

We thank you Colonel Bovey most heartily for your very splendid address, and I wish to tell you how delighted some of your old soldier friends are to see you looking so well and able to be with us today. (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Dr. Bruce, and Colonel Bovey.

"A QUARTER CENTURY OF COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. J. O. PERRINE

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, February 15, 1940

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada: Since our last meeting, the Honorary President of this Club, Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor-General of Canada, died. It is a great regret, of course, not only to this Club, but to the citizenship of Canada—wherever they may live, or whatever station of life they may occupy.

We are most fortunate in having with us today, Dr. Bruce, who for some years represented His Majesty, the King, as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, and who was a personal friend as well, of Lord Tweedsmuir. He attended the funeral yesterday in Ottawa as a personal friend. Dr. Bruce is going to address the Empire Club briefly, before I introduce the speaker.

I just want to say that the Empire Club sent a message of sympathy to Lady Tweedsmuir and her family, and the Club was represented at the service yesterday by Mr. Pratt, a former President of the Club.

I am sure we are all very glad to have Dr. Bruce here today, and I have great pleasure in calling on him now, and asking him to say what he has to say about Lord Tweedsmuir at this time. Dr. Bruce.

COLONEL THE HONOURABLE H. A. BRUCE, M.D.: It is both an honour and a privilege to pay a tribute to the memory of one who brought to his high office a wealth of knowledge and understanding that will class him for all time as one of Canada's greatest Governors-General.

Yesterday I attended the funeral in the Presbyterian

Church in Ottawa of a kindly, gentle man, and in the simplicity and beauty of that service I was reminded of the fact that in the last analysis it is not a man's worldly possessions that count but what he gives in public service. Lord Tweedsmuir gave of himself to the last minute of his life in the service of his King and Empire.

There gathered in the Church and on the streets a large throng of people from the highest to the lowliest to pay homage to a great and good man. Not only in Ottawa but throughout Canada in the homes of our people, in cities, towns and hamlets, and in the lonely places of our great Northland, the service was listened to by many a saddened heart.

During his term of office in Canada he fulfilled one of his ambitions to help bring about the full understanding of America and the British Empire. His success is evidenced by the many splendid tributes in the American press, one of which from the New York *Tribune* is symbolic of all. It said that "Americans today are mourning his death equally with his British countrymen, and will revere his memory as a statesman who was first of all a sympathetic friend".

I first met John Buchan during the last war but it was only during the latter part of my term as Lieutenant-Governor that I enjoyed the privilege of intimate friendship. Only three weeks ago my wife and I spent a few days at Rideau Hall when he showed his usual lively interest in everything affecting Canada and our Empire.

He was endowed with a brilliant intellect which absorbed knowledge easily and with an enquiring mind he carried out in his life the pursuit of truth by research. He had in him that divine spark which men call "genius", which by his own efforts he fanned into a great flame and now in Canada as in all parts of the English-speaking world, a bright light has suddenly been extinguished. We shall not see his like again but the inspiration of his life and work will live on through the centuries. We members of the Empire Club salute in death a very gallant heart. (Applause)

The Members of the Club stood, and while the lights were lowered, observed a minute of silence in memory of Lord Tweedsmuir.

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen: We have a great treat in store for us today. Dr. Perrine is well known to many people in this Club and evidently very well known to many people in this City. The number of people that have greeted him since he went into the little room before we came in to this luncheon, shows me that he is a very popular person.

You have only to look at him to know he is a genial person, and he is not only genial, but I know he is very erudite and very clever, because he is a graduate of no less than three universities, and he occupies a very high position in one of the greatest business concerns in the world, The American Telegraph and Telephone Company.

We are honoured in having him here as our guest of honour today. He comes under the auspices, not only of this Club, but also of the Royal Institute of Canada, under whose auspices he speaks in Convocation Hall next Saturday evening, at a quarter past eight o'clock.

I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Perrine, to give his lecture upon "A Quarter Century of Communications Development". (Applause)

DR. J. O. PERRINE: Canon Woodcock, Dr. Bruce, Gentlemen: It is very nice to be invited back to the Empire Club. Among my friends in the States I boast very much that I have had the privilege of speaking to you.

This morning on the train I thought of what I might say to express the great respect that I have for Lord Tweedsmuir, and the books of his which I have read. In the morning paper, I read a headline,—"He Came as an Official, He Departed as a Friend". The phrasing of this headline was very interesting to me because I had expected to, and I shall, quote a bit of verse about a great American, Jean Louis Agassiz. When he died, James Russell Lowell wrote about him, and what he said applies so beautifully to Lord Tweedsmuir, that I should like to quote it:

In some, genius is a thing apart,
A pillared hermit of the brain,

Hoarding with incommunicable art,
Its intellectual gain.
His magic was not far to seek, he was so human,
Whether strong or weak
Far from his kind he neither sank nor soared,
But sate an equal guest at every board.
No pauper ever felt him condescend,
No prince presume,
For still himself he bare at manhood's simple level
And wheree'r he met a stranger, there he left a friend.

Lord Tweedsmuir! (Applause)

To us in the States this year of 1940, and also to our friends and colleagues of the Canadian Bell Telephone Company, this year of 1940 is a quarter-century anniversary, because January 1915 was the first time that New York ever spoke by telephone to San Francisco, across the entire breadth of this Continent.

So it is with that thought of a quarter-century of communications achievement that I present to you a few ideas about this effort, this accomplishment, this episode in life, and how we have gone here and there, everywhere, in all branches of science, to seek understanding of the physical, chemical and mathematical phenomena in Nature's storehouse.

Nature has treated us very generously. Nature has provided unexpectedly, phenomena which we can utilize to our purposes, and in this generous store-house of Nature, these abundant phenomena of Nature, through these years we have dug here and there, because we must dig. They are not lying on the top of the ground, just to pick up. We must dig for them.

So I want to show an experiment, right at the very beginning,—a simple phenomena which starts the whole business of speaking by word of mouth, along a circuit or by radio. I have in my hand that little simple something,—all great ventures start with simple things.

This is a simple coil of wire, with a magnet inside of it, and a piece of clock spring, that doesn't touch the magnet, placed above the coil and its magnet core.

This is the very simple something that your own Alexander Graham Bell, and our Alexander Graham Bell, too, and Scotland's Alexander Graham Bell, thought about here in this country; thought about in the States 65 years ago.

Here it is, a most simple something, a coil of wire, a clock spring, a magnet. After it functioned as a telephone at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, Lord Kelvin asked Bell to send him one. Lord Kelvin gathered a few of his friends in his home one evening to show them the amazing something that Bell had made. They were a group of distinguished men and it was so simple that one man said, "why didn't we think of that a long time ago?"

Here it is. I will pluck the clock spring. We have to invoke the genius of Michael Faraday who, in 1831, in England, discovered the simple principle that if a clock spring or magnet moves with respect to a wire, this storehouse of Nature's phenomena comes in, and reveals the principle that is useful. (The clock-spring was plucked and sound produced as a low tone out of a large loud speaker.)

Bell asked himself,—"Perhaps if I were to talk against the clock spring, the sound waves coming out from one's mouth would make it move". (Demonstrating.)

Well, it doesn't seem to work. You didn't hear what I said.

But, strangely enough I had an accident not long ago. I happened to touch my lips to this clock spring, and the sound therefore was a bit nearer, and lo, out of the loud speaker came my voice. I find there is no record of Bell or Watson or his colleagues doing this.

So we see the relation between the simple affairs that Nature supplies, if we have some imagination to put them together to work in this whole venture.

. . . Dr. Perrine demonstrated the effect produced by touching his lips to the spring, and fairly intelligible speech came out of the loud speaker.

You may remember the story. After having the tone produced by the plucked spring, and his brilliant imagination seeing the possibility of the experiment, he asked his assistant to go and make this (holding up gallows telephone), which is the same sort of thing, but now it has a drumhead to catch the sound waves, and the clock spring is fastened to the drumhead. Everything else is the same. It becomes a formidable looking thing, but it is almost exactly the same, and again a very simple arrangement.

I have often wondered, if Bell had happened to touch his lips to the clock spring, would the story of the telephone have been different? I shall tap the drumhead and talk against it now. (Demonstrating the gallows type telephone.)

We have the same sort of thing here—a drumhead to catch the sound waves, and by this amazing principle here, we had the beginning of this connection of affairs of the telephone communications system.

On through the years, what has happened? Sixty-five years ago that all took place. Then came its utility as an enterprise in life and we began to understand that what was involved, after all, in the telephone and the radio and all these affairs, began with very simple things, essentially very simple. The apparatus was very simple and what was involved was really waves and vibrations which collectively make speech.

So I have some waves here, they are very simple. This is a tuning fork wave, 512 vibrations per second. (Tuning fork placed near dynamic microphone and tone came out of large loudspeaker.)

And I have still another of a different pitch wave, a lower pitch wave. (Demonstrating.) And the last one I have is considerably lower, 128 vibrations per second.

Then through the years we became minded that we need no longer make the waves mechanically, but must make them electrically, distinctively electrically. So, after all, it is electrical phenomena, beginning with Mr. Faraday, as I said in the beginning.

I have a very new type of microphone before me by which I have been speaking to you, in conjunction with the cabinet of vacuum tube amplifiers on your right and this big homely box which is a loud speaker. This microphone we sometimes call an "eight-ball" microphone. It is an unobtrusive, serene looking affair. Inside it is very beautifully constructed. It operates on the same principle as the early model of Bell's so-called "gallows" telephone. However, from Bell's original one to this microphone (pointing to the "eight-ball" microphone), there is an amazing story of achievement. The first one barely could reproduce natural and articulate speech. This one can hear most distinctly words, music and intonations and inflections. It is a splendid electrical ear. Between the two microphones are several man-years of mathematical research alone.

I wish to point out that the basic principle in these two microphones is that of Faraday. Furthermore, the same principle is used in the great generators for light and power in the power-house of Toronto.

We have no battery connected to this microphone.

The power of my voice waves is changed to electric waves. It is a generator, an electric generator. The power of steam and hydro-electric systems is likewise changed to electric power in the generators with great rotating armatures.

But here we are changing microscopic amounts of power. That is why we call it a microphone. A microscope sees tiny things. A microphone hears tiny bits of sound. "Micro" is a prefix; it really means "a millionth".

Now again about waves, acoustic and electric. On top of our cabinet you see a little suitcase sort of a box with a long pointer. This gadget, if I may call it such, has no rotating parts, no wheels, no tuning forks inside of it, but it can generate electric current of varying pitch. We call it a vacuum tube oscillator. It is a special type of generator of electric current which, when connected to the loud speaker, will give out many acoustic tones.

Let us hear some tones, say a hundred vibrations a second. We are going to make it electrically. That is a hundred vibrations a second. Go to five hundred, (Dr. Perrine spoke to his assistant, Mr. J. L. Richey), now, to a thousand, to five thousand.

Now, we have acoustically from five thousand vibrations, to one hundred, and now go down to fifty, say.

(Demonstrating.) Now, that is really basso profundo. Now, down to forty; now, up to five hundred; to five thousand.

Now, we go on to six thousand, to ten thousand. Maybe some of you won't hear some of these now. The ear loses its acuity with age, a bit. Eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, eleven thousand, twelve thousand. I don't hear it. I stopped at twelve thousand vibrations a second. Now, thirteen thousand, fourteen thousand, fifteen thousand vibrations per second. I don't hear anything.

Now, come back to fourteen thousand, thirteen thousand, twelve thousand, eleven thousand. I hear it now. Ten thousand.

Well, here then are those intangible, invisible somethings that really in the twenty-five years of communications development we have increasingly understood, not in their microscopic aggregate alone, which is a fairly conglomerate array, but in their individual features and properties.

I would put it this way, Gentlemen. I would say that the twenty-five years of communications development is an appreciation of this sort of thing, and then, on beyond what we might call supersonic, away above what ears can hear. In other words, we have made great advances in the generation, amplification and control of a large gamut of electrical and acoustical vibrations. As the radio broadcasters say, when saying "Good-night", "We are broadcasting on a frequency of 1,000 kilocycles", he means one million vibrations per second, electrically.

How do we know how to make one million vibrations electrically? We have only known in the last twenty-five years. When I was a student in college we used to have a most difficult time to get tones of different pitch. We used to have a tuning fork. I am sure General Mitchell remembers the day when there was no electrical apparatus to give the vibrations of wide variations in pitch. Professor Burton, at the University of Toronto, has a fine array of tuning forks of wide variations in pitch. But in this simple box, we can make a wide variety of electrical vibrations to later change to sound at our pleasure by means of a loud speaker.

So, we have this whole affair. We started with James Clerk Maxwell, your great man in England, who predicated that light waves and heat waves, after all, were electro-magnetic waves. Then, (and isn't it too bad that science is so panoramic in its implications and advancements but we can't get along humanly), a German, by the name of Hertz, was the first to prove experimentally that Maxwell was right. Maxwell summarized, wrote equations, philosophied, and then came a man who actually demonstrated that there were such things as the electro-magnetic waves that Maxwell had predicted.

So I would say, Gentlemen, in tweny-five years what we have understood, is an appreciation of what is called the electro-magnetic spectrum,—that is electric waves from very few to many millions of vibrations.

Our ears and mouths have to do with this. (Pointing to microphone and loud speaker.) And beyond are the radio waves which still can be used, and beyond them the heat waves. Beyond them are the ultra-violet rays which give us sunburn and hurt our flesh, and on beyond them are the X-rays. Of course, we don't use X-rays in communications, I know, but they are part of the whole something called the electro-magnetic spectrum.

So the microscopic aspect of the understanding of these seems basically a chief factor in what has happened in the last twenty-five years. So, this loud speaker of mine doesn't look very pretty, but it does do things microscopically, both individually and collectively.

A number of you have heard my voice today. Mr. Rolph of the Telephone Company and I are good friends. I am sure if he didn't know I was speaking and my voice came out, he would say, "There is Perrine", because this homely looking thing does a fine job with waves, so that voices can be real and natural.

Now, I want you to hear some music that must be handled microscopically, from the standpoint of waves. In the whole twenty-five years we have learned how to relate sound and electricity, and to bring them together musically, because music is language, too. I am going to play one of the songs I think maybe Canada and Great

Britain and the States call "Stars of the Summer Night". This is a group of men singing. (Record played.)

Now, that is just a sample of where all the little ideas are brought together, about this relation between waves and your communications system of the last twenty-five years.

Well, twenty-five years ago, these little waves out of this affair (the gallows telephone) that I first showed you, went only between two rooms, and then after a while they went a mile. Then they went five miles. Then it went fifty miles. And then in 1893, down in the States, we talked from New York to Chicago, and that was an amazingly fine achievement. We had wire about this size, quite a heavy piece of wire. (Sample shown to the audience.) We had wire like that strung all the way from New York to Chicago. I don't know how many pounds it weighed, but it was a lot of them.

Then it seemed this store-house of Mother Nature had been called upon to a final end. It seemed that Mother Nature had said, "Man, you can't go any farther than a thousand miles. It just isn't possible to get an electric current to go on two great big wires like this any more than a thousand miles."

Then, a man by the name of Heaviside came into the picture. You will see I am a great admirer of Maxwell, Sir Humphrey Davy, Faraday, and Heaviside. After a while I am going to mention some others that I admire.

Well, a man by the name of Heaviside, said, "I believe an electric current can be made to go much farther if you study magnetism". That was an odd idea in the sending of waves electrically. Then it was developed by the simple idea of taking a doughnut-shaped piece of iron, a certain kind of iron, and wrapping some wire in and out around it to make a coil something like this. (Illustrating.) This has the doughnut-shaped affair inside and the wire is wrapped around. Heaviside said, "If you purposely add magnetic effects, I believe you could talk farther than you could otherwise". This loading coil is a result of his suggestion.

It is an amazing sally of the imagination, but lo! it worked out. I could talk a long time about that but I must go on to the general high spots that I think you might be interested in.

Due to Mr. Heaviside, and a man in the States by the name of Professor Pupin, and also due to a gentleman who retired from our business only a year ago, by the name of Dr. George Campbell, it was worked out that we could with the help of magnetic phenomena, talk not from New York to Chicago, but from New York to Denver, twice as far.

In other words, through magnetism, digging into the store-house of understanding of iron, nickel and cobalt, by a round-about way, one could talk twice as far.

It is a long story. About the universities I know the Professors talk quite a bit about it to their students. It seemed again Mother Nature said, "Two thousand miles is as far as you can go". Man replied, "I won't accept your limitations. I can talk anywhere I want to in the world". I can imagine Mother Nature chuckling, "Maybe so. I am going to give you a run for your money".

Well, the run for his money was a grand run, and I want to mention Sir Joseph Thomson and Crookes, who in England began to study, not how electricity and magnetism were related, as such, but what happens when you take a bottle—I am speaking generally now—and pump out the air from it, if you don't put anything in it, but take something out of it,—namely the air,—and then send electricity through the vacuum.

They said, "What is inside?" "Is it the fourth state of matter?" Solid, liquid and gas—those are the three states of matter.

Crookes said, "What is happening in there with electricity must be a fourth state of matter. The fourth state of matter is real actual electricity".

Then we came to Sir Joseph Thomson and our own Edison in the States and your own Sir John Ambrose Fleming and DeForest, Arnold and Langmuir in the States again. It was a long way around. They said to Mother Nature, "We can talk more than two thousand miles. We can talk three thousand miles. We can talk around the world. We will find something to take the place of wire and we will substitute for big pieces of wire and copper, intangible, imponderable things, called "electrons".

It was such a great pleasure when Sir Joseph Thomson came to America and lectured on the electron. I had the opportunity to hear him speak in Philadelphia. He was the Englishman who had so much to do with the study of electricity in its microscopic atomic aspect, the electron aspect.

In 1915, we first used these electrons to talk, not a thousand miles, not two thousand miles, but three thousand miles. Then we were able to make the vacuum tube bigger.

So I have one here of bigger capacity. That is, it would give increased power. Then I have one still bigger, the kind that we can use to talk to the ships at sea.

Then, if we want to talk around the world or across to London, which I had the pleasure of doing some time ago for your membership, when we put a call through to London, we use this one. We can do this because man understands the "fourth state of matter"—electricity.

So what happened inside these things was the crowning achievement in talking across the ocean, and we talked to Hawaii, and we said to Mother Nature, "Mother Nature, we have achieved, we are grateful for the phenomena that you have in your storehouse".

In other words, we can send the voice here and there to the far curves of the earth. Due to electronic research, King George V and King George VI broadcast to your British Empire at Christmas time.

Well, now, I would like to recapitulate to you a bit what it might have sounded like to talk to San Francisco in 1915. In the first place, what would be different? The microscopic aspect would be different. That is, these little tones you heard—if you don't have so many of them you can't do so well.

I don't know whether you have a college song "Johnny One Note". I don't know who wrote such a song. "Johnny One Note" couldn't have much music in one note.

So the problem has been the increasing understanding of more waves. So I am going to pretend to be talking to

San Francisco in 1915. I am in the laboratory. A young gentleman is in another room, ready to do what I ask him to do, and I am going to illustrate, actually with my own voice first.

The loud speaker that I have divides my voice in three parts, electrically, I would have you know, Gentlemen. Out of the lower circular affair comes the lower tones, forty to five hundred, approximately, and I have the throat identified by a red light.

Then I have another section of our loud speaker, quite wide and high, and there comes the middle register of whatever there is in my voice. This is identified by this yellow light. The little horn with aluminum paint emits tones from 4,000 to 15,000 vibrations per second. It is identified with green lights.

Now, I am going to talk with my mouth away from you, and Mr. Richey will take out of my voice electricity—the different vibrations in my voice. (Demonstrating.) I am talking as I was—immediately you notice a difference.

So the voice is reproduced in the telephone, in the broadcast in its entirety, by an understanding of it.

Take away the low throat again and you understand what I am saying pretty well. It isn't the same person as before. Now, put it back to low. If l have only the low throat to talk on, you don't understand my words so well. (Demonstrating.)

Now, my voice has a little huskiness and doesn't reproduce the clearness and clarity so well. Now, put it back to the little one on top and I think you begin to know what I say; the articulation is better. Put in the middle throat and my voice comes back clearly as it was before.

So I have done this electrically. We have studied voices and speech not so much as speech per se but rather speech when in the form of electrical phenomena. We have learned much about speech by changing it to electrical current.

We call these facilities which take vibrations out of an electric current, electric wave filters. I have some in the back of our loud speaker.

So, as I said a moment ago, I am in one room at the

Bell Laboratories, and we have a young gentleman in another room, and I am pretending to talk to San Francisco, as it was done in 1915. I want you to listen. In New York in 1915 we talked to San Francisco for the first time in history. It was a great achievement to carry speech across the Continent, but the voice transmission was not so good as it is today. Electric wave frequency was from five hundred cycles to fourteen hundred cycles. (Record played.)

As I say, last January 25th, two weeks ago tomorrow, I had the pleasure of being in our City of Boston. It was the 25th Anniversary, and we put a call through to San Francisco. It is interesting, too, that we made a permanent record of what happened, because our lines went down to New York and I asked my young friends in the Bell Laboratories if they would connect on the line and take it off to the laboratory, and they did this fine job of recording the voices on a piece of wax material and making a transcription of it, as we say.

By way of contrast I want to play three or four minutes of men talking between Boston and San Francisco, as of 1940. (Record played.)

That gives you an idea. These two men are Mr. J. J. Robinson, the President of the New England Telephone Company, in Boston, and Mr. N. R. Powley, President of the Pacific Telephone Company in San Franscisco.

At the beginning of the utilizing of electrical wires, it took twenty-six wires for one message. It was an odd affair, a cumbersome bit of apparatus, with one wire for the letter "A", another for the letter "G" and so on, and a man stood here and punched keys and they had one wire for each letter.

Then a man came along and he said, "That is very foolish for the telegraph to have twenty-six wires. Let us have one wire, and a sequence of signals. So they have had the ta-ta—ta-ta-ta-ta—ta-ta—ta— you have heard it. Their sequence of sound stood for letter, and only one wires carries a message.

Then Mr. Edison and Mr. Hughes, in England, said, "We will send two and four telegraph messages on one pair of wires". Then came the telephone and one message on a pair of wires. So today we have wires, wires, wires, in the telephone business, because there are so many people here and there, so many individual fellowships between various people who wish to speak.

I have in my hand a cable, an amazing bit of mechanical achievement that has in it 4,242 wires. If each wire is allocated to a subscriber, it means 2,121 people can be talking simultaneously. The wires are very tiny. Actually this one wire, called a #8 wire, is six thousand times the cross section of the little wire that is in here. Just for fun, I want to push out the wires. There are 4,242 of them. I may say, parenthetically, we are trying to make the wires 4/1000ths of an inch smaller, to get in more of them, so we will have 3,000, instead of 2,100. I will let them fall down here on a piece of paper. (Demonstrating.) There they are—4,242 of them.

Then we said, "Why not send more than one message on the same pair of wires?" For quite a while we sent three telephone messages on a pair of wires, and we now send 64, between the State of Texas and California. It is a thousand miles across, and we have a pair of wires on poles strung across, and on one pair of wires, sixteen telephone messages, 64 on the four pairs of wires.

But how do we do it? With the little things called "waves". We don't send them all together on one track. You can have more than one automobile going over one spot on the surface at one time. Oh, yes, you can build a road here, and a road on top, and a road on top of that, and at any instant of time there may be, as down at the George Washington Bridge, New York City, four automobiles going over the same spot of the earth's surface at the same time, but on different levels.

By the same token we have different levels of those intangibles that some of you, you remember, didn't hear.

We said, let us try to do something more. Let us try to send more than sixteen messages. So an idea was used which had been suggested a number of years ago. Instead of a long wire, let us have a wire that is a pipe, and inside of it put another wire, so the one is a pipe and the other is a wire, so I have here such a cable, as we call it. We call it the coaxial cable, about which we hardly dreamed twenty-five years ago.

Today, we send 480 messages through it simultaneously. How? Because we invoke a lot of waves, one level on top of another, and the maximum number of waves we use is about 2,300,000 or so, all together, and divide the whole ensemble into groups of 4,000 vibrations. On each group of 4,000, a separate telephone message can go.

Then, someone says, how can you keep all the tracks nicely and sharply separated? It is like a multiple track highway—how do you keep the wave tracks separate?

I want to show an experiment. Remember, I said we go to Nature's store-house. In creek bottoms and river bottoms we find beautiful crystal, clear and beautiful, called "quartz". Quartz is an amazing something, and Madame and Pierre Curie found out an amazing phenomenon. It is piezo-electricity—"piezo" meaning twist, or pressure. So if I take a piece of quartz and twist it—ergo, this side gets a positive of electricity, and this, a negative.

Nature's phenomena! Rochelle salts have the same properties. Take a piece of Rochelle salts, crystallized into a rectangular block, about like a small match box. I am going to hit the crystal. When I strike, I drive the electricity out of one side, and to make it come down on the other side, and there is a defficiency on this side. In other words, there is a little battery for a fraction of a second. I do that. (Demonstrating.) And when I hit it a blow, a little light lights up and we have utilized the property of piezo-electricity—pressure electricity. When I hit it, this little neon light flashes up.

Now, that little phenomenon, believe it or not, that little phenomenon of a quartz crystal is one of the ways to help keep the separating lines distinct to send more messages. We take such a quartz crystal as this, and saw out of it a little plate, like that, beautifully thin and true and all. Then the opposite thing is interesting. If I put a bit of electricity on each side of it, like so many things they are reversible. I do one thing and something happens. I do something and one happens.

So I have a little affair that I brought along from New York.

I have a little plate: you can see it here. I have it connected electrically. When I turn it on this little plate will begin to expand and contract in this fashion. (Demonstrating with hands). Actually it is only going to expand and contract two-millionths of an inch, and do it at the rate of a million times a second. I am going to turn it on. Since it does expand and contract a million times a second, and does it only two-millionths of an inch, there will be sound, a supersonic tone, far above our ability to hear.

If I turn it on the little paddles begin to move. The little weather vanes rotate around. Why? Because electrically we are using phenomena of nature to make vibrations a million times a second, no more, no less. If I turn it off the little vanes stop. Now it is not expanding and no sound waves go up. If I turn it back on, the little vanes begin to move. So we reveal the supersonic waves by a pair of little wind mills rather than trying to hear them with our ears.

So, my point is, Gentlemen, that going away around, via electrons, we get the vacuum tube; going around the other way, via alloys of iron and nickel, we get unusually helpful magnetic results. Going around another way, we went to the river bottom and got quartz, and we bring together in a system about which twenty-five years ago we didn't know any too much. However, twenty-five years have brought amazing utilization of nature's phenomena for electrical communication.

When I received this very nice invitation to come and speak to you again, from your President, Dr. Gaby, he wrote: "Will you say something about the sociological, human value of all this study? What does electrical communications mean as a basic factor in the welter of life?"

I should like, therefore, in conclusion, to say something along the line of Dr. Gaby's request.

In bringing the fruits of science to the service of a vast public in a manner such as the telephone accomplishes, there has been no room for the dictatorial method, except, of course, as Nature does the dictating. We must try at all times to plead our case intelligently before Nature, and sympathetically before the public. As a matter of fact, the public and its reactions are as much a part of nature as the electrons which carry our messages, and transgressions of its laws of reaction are as inimical to success as would be a failure to understand the laws of electro-magnetism.

There has been much coöperative effort in developing and guiding what appears to many people a relatively simple thing, the telephone. But whether or not you visualize telephony as simple, how much more complex is this mechanism which we call society and destined, it would seem, to become more complex.

We now apply painstaking study and research in the less complex field. We study coils, wire, glass, electricity, magnetism, materials, with every technique of research. These are inanimate, things to be sure. A definite relation between cause and effect can be determined. What are we going to do with respect to that field which is vastly more complex, namely the sociological domain? Would that we could apply the methods of physical and chemical research to sociological and human problems.

The question these days before the communication business is not so much what can we do technically, but what can we do that the people want, will use and will use for the good of society? What are the social and human aspects of scientific achievement?

We like to look upon our work as a benefit to mankind and we like to measure our progress in those terms. What good does modern communication do to humanity? It is some aspects of that question that I would like to suggest in closing.

Up to the time of the invention of the telegraph, which was the first utilization of electricity to man's needs, communication was, generally speaking, tied and directly associated with transportation. A message had to be carried by a man, walking, running on his own legs, or on horses, locomotives, or ships. Semaphores, beacons and smoke signals were, of course, used, but in a very limited way. In general, the ancient communications were largely made up of the military and political information necessary for the conquerors to maintain power over the populace. Small ruling classes thus kept large populations in subjection.

Modern communication is chiefly useful so that large populations may know themselves by constant intercourse and thereby improve their economic status and their ability to govern themselves.

The underlying purpose of the two systems is exactly the opposite. Ancient communications gave inside news exclusively to the few. Modern communication enables everyone to have the same news at the same time and to have equal facilities for personal communication. One tended towards exclusive power, the other tends toward equalization of opportunity. Communications are now one of the great agencies of democracy. In their origin they served the opposite ends.

In passing, of course, I must mention the development of the printing press and the extensive use of the printed word, and the ability of many, many people to read and write. The development of mail service must also be definitely regarded as an agency of democracy.

There are those who are critical of our modern age and even of our modern and extensive scientific achievements. Some folks talk about a holiday, a vacation for science, for invention. These folks say that at the present time the tools control the man, rather than the man controlling the tools. But I think they say this chiefly because it is easier to blame the machines than it is the people, it is easier to blame someone else than it is to blame our own inability. Our machines do what we direct them. They add to our powers, but they do not direct our purposes. Our problem, of course, is to know how to direct the machine in the interests of mankind.

After all, the important aspect of science and research is the development of man's own abilities. We must not stop man's creative work. We must not curb his imagination. The really important thing is not a locomotive, it is not an aeroplane, it is not an ocean liner, it is not a hydro-electric dam, it is not a high voltage transmission line, it is not a telephone system, it is not a radio system, it is not an automobile. They are not important, they are just things. The important thing is the man's creative imagination that make them possible, and our problem is that man's creative imagination shall also make them fit into sane world affairs.

It is true, as the last few years have made painfully apparent, that all these modern tools put together have not eliminated the vicissitudes of human affairs. They are not automatic and, as I said before, they do not control mankind. They give man the power to do many things he could not do before, and to do other things with greater facility, but they do not control the degree, nor the direction in which he uses that power.

So electrical communications, through all its great successes, and connecting world people together,—as one man put it, "The electric nerve, whose instaneous thrill makes next door neighbours of the Antipodes",—these electrical communications have been used to revolutionize the methods of commerce, to make news instantaneously common to all men, to restore the influence of the spoken word in politics, to bind your country and my country together with a constantly changing but ever present web of words, and by transoceanic telephony to make a great change in the conduct of international relations.

These and many others are the proof that electrical communications have given man immensely increased power. Whether it is used to make more money, or better men, to increase comfort and happiness or the opposite, to make a better or worse civilization, to promote peace or war, depends not on the facilities at his disposal, but on man's attitudes and desires, on your attitude and my attitude, and the attitude of others.

After all, the mere ability to talk on the telephone and telegraph does not automatically make for amicable and friendly relations. If one is minded to be friendly, the communications system may enhance the friendliness. If one is minded to be mad, inconsiderate, obstinate, perhaps communications may excite more anger, stir more stubborn obstinacy.

So it seems to me in the whole welter of life and in the whole array of civilization, the really basic problems are those of stern character and spiritual values. Mind you, I do not say religious. I mean the deep and broad spiritual and ethical considerations. Maybe, after all, the whole problem is one of education, to promote and inculcate concepts of tolerance, forbearance, appreciation of other men's rights.

But being an optimist, both as to the public's intentions and abilities in the long run, we have faith in man's basic and intrinsic goodness. Therefore, we get a bit of satisfaction from adding to those powers of spreading the word of man quickly to the far curves of the world.

I say again, how shall we be minded? What shall be our disposition? What shall be our spiritual philosophy? If these are tolerant and broad and deep, communications, we hope, may help to make the world a better place in which to live for all mankind. But we must be so minded, and if we are not, all the physical things we have developed may be Frankensteins that destroy, rather than agencies for good.

Gentlemen, I have finished. It is very nice of you to come and I say thank you and good afternoon.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are very grateful indeed to Dr. Perrine for coming here and giving us this very extraordinary lecture. I am sorry that Dr. Gaby, our President, was not here. He, being an engineer, could thank you much more appropriately. There are men at the head table also deeply aware of these things, but I noticed even General Mitchell was taking notes during this lecture. There were some things that even he did not understand. There were many things I did not understand, and I think I would like to say, if you will bear with me for a moment, I think perhaps it might be an appropriate conclusion to this wonderful lecture.

You know these geniuses of science have made this world for us a neighbourhood, but it is not the first time this world has been a neighbourhood. Long centuries ago it was a neighbourhood. You remember, in the early pages of Genesis there is a story, well known to us in our youth—

perhaps forgotten as the years roll on—a story of the tower of Babel, which men built. Evidently in their endeavour to build up to the heavens they said, "We are great men, we will be absolutely secure with our bricks and mortar. We will build a tower to the heavens". The result of that was confusion and chaos, and the men were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the world.

Since then the world has not been a neighbourhood, but now in our modern day, because of modern achievements, our world has once more become a neighbourhood, because of transportation and communications. We are living together, we know each other. We should live as neighbours, but there is that intrinsic idea in humanity. We will build a tower to heaven, we will make ourselves secure and permanent in this world.

There is that old Mother Nature which has something still to say, and she says this world is not a neighbourhood in an intrinsic sense. Not essentially so. It is full of confusion and conflict and war.

Let us think a moment of all our achievements. They should make us humble. They should make us recognize there is a great Divine Providence that rules this universe. It is only when we as people living in a neighbourhood, pay common homage to Him, by a common faith in Him, that we can live together, not just in a neighbourhood, but as neighbours.

I thank you, Dr. Perrine, on behalf of the Empire Club, for your wonderful lecture today. (Applause)

"THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY"

AN ADDRESS BY HONOURABLE D. G. McKENZIE

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, February 22, 1940

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: It is with a great deal of pleasure that we welcome so prominent a Westerner as the Hon. D. G. McKenzie today, and one who has such intimate contact with Western problems. Mr. McKenzie, although a native Ontarian, has spent most of his life in Western Canada and has held many positions of prominence in its affairs. He was appointed Vice-President of the United Farmers of Manitoba in 1920. Later, he became Executive Treasurer, which position he resigned in 1927, when he was appointed by the Dominion Government to the Advisory Board on Tariffs and Taxation. In 1935, Mr. McKenzie joined the United Grain Growers Limited, and he is now the Vice-President of that body.

He is well known in Western political circles. In 1928 he was Provincial Secretary and Minister of Mines and Natural Resources in the Manitoba Government, and he was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Immigration in 1932. He was very much interested during this period in which he was in the Manitoba Government, in the development of the Manitoba Hydro in their rural districts which today, I understand from him is quite a success.

Unfortunately, Mr. McKenzie has had to make a correction in the title of his address, owing to not having received the essential data to complete his talk as intended, but he has been versatile enough on short notice to change to a subject that he is very conversant with, through his intimate contact with the Red Cross and other work, and that is on the lack of understanding among many in the West of the ideas of Canadian citizenship, and especially in regard to the attitude of our foreign citizens in the situation of today. Mr. McKenzie, therefore, has changed his subject from "Canadian Agriculture In the War and After" to "The Challenge of Democracy" and I have no doubt that he will deal with some of our national problems between the East and the West.

I have a great deal of pleasure in introducing to you the Honourable D. G. McKenzie. (Applause)

HON. D. G. MCKENZIE: Mr. Chairman, Honoured Guests and Gentlemen: May I at once express to you, Sir, my appreciation of the honour you have done me in giving me the opportunity to address the Empire Club of Canada. I desire, also, Mr. Chairman, to express to you personally my appreciation of the fact that you have so nicely let me out of apologizing for the fact that I have had to change the subject I wish to discuss with you.

These, Gentlemen, are very strenuous days, and days in which we are faced with many very serious problems. For at the very heart of all our problems and the very centre of our thoughts is the fact that Canada, with Britain, France and our sister Dominions is again engaged in a World War which will tax to the utmost all our resources, man power, financial and material. Every endeavour of the Canadian people must for the present, at least, be directed to make our war effort as effective as possible. To this end we must see to it that the people of Canada understand fully the ideals of Canadian democracy and the circumstances that impelled Canada to mobilize her entire resources and join with the Mother Country and her Allies in a war with the dictatorial country of Nazi Germany.

That, Gentlemen, is the centre thought that I want to discuss with you today, and to relate to that problem, that set of facts, some of the circumstances that we see developing in Western Canada.

Why should Canada again become involved in a World War? What are the issues that justify Canada supporting Great Britain and the Allies? How will the results of the War effect the future of Canada? How does our form of Government and social and economic structure compare with that of the dictatorial countries of Europe? Are these worth preserving or fighting for? and, if necessary, worth dying for? If they are to be preserved how may this best be done? Why must we again go forth to war and assume the enormous sacrifices consequent thereto?

These are major problems or, at least, some of the problems that are agitating the minds of many of our people at the present time, and to which they are desirous of finding an answer.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that two great forces seem to be struggling for supremacy in the world today. On the one hand we have the forces of liberty, liberty of action and freedom, of brotherly love and goodwill, the desire for service to humanity, all contributing greatly in many things that add to the standard of living of the people.

We see that exemplified in many directions. We see great advances being made in education and science. I don't think one need at the moment to amplify these suggestions. Similarly, we see a tremendous advance being made in medicine and surgery in the last number of years. In the mechanical world the same trend is evident. One only has to go out on the street today and see some of the road machinery to realize something of the advance made in the mechanical world. In transportation facilities the same thing has happened and we see improvement in travelling conditions on land, on the water and in the air. Communication has been greatly facilitated by improvement in telephone, telegraph and by aerial broadcast. In the cultural world we have tremendous advances in music and art and all the other cultural influences of life. And in the promotion of goodwill a great service is being rendered by social clubs, by churches and many other kindred agencies.

But, unfortunately, Gentlemen, in contrast to this, mighty forces are engaged in a ruthless campaign for promoting the forces of destruction. We have agencies today that are developing nothing but international hatreds, suspicions, jealousies and distrusts. We have agencies employed in a ruthless disregard of the rights of minorities, and of weaker nations. We see agencies employed in the prosecution of religious organizations and their adherents, and I think to many of us, one of the most appalling facts of Europe today is that people no longer are able to freely engage in their religious devotions as we so much desire to do in our own country. We see labour organizations ruthlessly torn asunder, service clubs no longer permitted to function. All to what end?

In addition to all these things there is a ruthless breaking down of world trade. Chaos has been created in the world of finance by reason of the breakdown of the gold standard. Unprecedented public and private debts are being established, and we see countries organizing for the destruction, the wilful destruction of peoples and nations.

Surely we in Canada have much to be thankful for. Surely we ought to be happy that we are living in the western hemisphere today, free from the atmosphere that prevails on the Continent of Europe, free from the dictates, and free from the oppressions of the iron fist, as is being so terribly manifest in most of the central parts of Europe today.

But Canada is now called upon to use the weight of her strength in support of right, rather than might. Canada must, of course, suffer from the result of such a struggle. I sometimes wonder if the people of Canada as individuals are conscious today of the terrible situation that is resulting in Europe? I think it is very doubtful if the average Canadian has a real appreciation yet of what the present war means. We are fortunate, indeed, that we live in the western hemisphere, far removed from the seat of war, and have for a neighbour a great nation, endowed with the same principles and ideals as ours. We have three thousand miles of boundary line between us without guns or fortifications, but with peace gardens that join rather than separate these two great countries. We have always been able to settle our international disputes by arbitration and peaceful negotiation.

Now, Gentlemen, I ask you this: What is it that we have in Canada today, that we have in the western hemisphere, that makes this thing possible, but which appears to be absent on the Continent of Europe? Is it that we have a higher average intelligence among our people? Is it that we have a land of opportunity and the right to plan our own lives? Is it that we have liberty of action and the right of self-expression? Or is it that we have a better and more efficient form of government?

Whatever the reasons may be, surely they must be sufficient to make us determined that every ounce of energy that we possess and every resource at our command will be dedicated to the defense of all those things that we hold to be sacred and fundamental, but it may be that we will serve our war effort best if we take steps in Canada to strengthen our general standards of citizenship and if we endeavour to inform our citizens of the true character of those ideals and privileges that are as sacred to us as is life itself. If the best is to be preserved and developed, what characteristic should we seek to develop in our citizens so that they, with us, can join in the preservation of these good things?

I suggest that first of all we need capable citizens, and I infer capable citizens as meaning people who must be intelligent, industrious, and frugal. Again, I am not going to amplify those suggestions, but people must be intelligent to judge wisely in the matters of public policy and to reject the fallacious doctrines of the demagogue who offers nothing but sweet sounding platitudes.

May I tell you now a little incident that occurred in my own experience, not more than two years ago, and I think perhaps this can be repeated in many of the larger centres of Canada. I happened to be out in a little town in rural Manitoba to address a group of young men. Before the meeting had convened I got into conversation with two or three of these boys. They were boys of university age but, unfortunately, because of the circumstances under which they and their fathers lived they were unable to pursue their studies. Many of them lived in little country towns where there was no opportunity for gainful employment. Imagine, if you will, the mental attitude of those boys. The seriousness of the situation was suggested to me in the fact that those boys said that our social order is wrong, things in Canada are wrong and they are going to give their support to certain other systems of which they knew nothing whatever. I said to them, "If you had the power tonight to transport yourself from Canada to the middle of Europe would you do so?" They said, "No." I said, "Why not? If conditions in Canada are so bad as you suggest, and if the philosophies expounded by the proponents of the isms you now subscribe to are such as you think they are, why wouldn't you make the change?" Then I said to them, "In spite of all the difficulties we face, and we face very serious ones, do you know any country in the world where there is a better standard of living on the average than we have in Canada itself?" These boys hesitated. They said to me, "Mr. McKenzie, nobody has ever talked to us like that before. Will you give us a manuscript of what you have said? (Unfortunately I didn't have it.) We would like to take that back to our communities and call our boys together and discuss those things."

I am here today, Gentlemen, to suggest to you that there is a challenge in that situation that comes to all thoughtful citizens of the Dominion of Canada.

We must develop discernment to choose the right men for public office. For obvious reasons I am not going to amplify that statement. Our citizens must possess self-control to accept the decisions of the majority. What else does democratic government mean? They must be honest enough to seek the interests of all, rather than the selfish interests at the expense of the community. They must be public spirited enough to take trouble or to face danger for the good of the community. They must be free from class consciousness—no divisions between town and country, no divisions between east and west. And I say to you today, in all seriousness, a man in this country who makes his appeal for public support on the basis of trying to develop misunderstanding as between town and country or east and west is not a true citizen of Canada. (Applause)

A good citizen may be defined as the individual participating in the life of the community and recognizing the sovereignty of the state, seeking always to give his services to his fellow citizens and always loyal to his King and country.

A despotism can thrive on ignorance, but a democracy demands that if its citizenship is to be effective in its service to the community it must be intelligent and informed. That, Sir, I think is basic to the welfare of the democracy. Hence our free state public schools, our colleges and our universities. Every good citizen must seek and support education, if for no other reason that it constitutes the chief defense of Democracy. Leaders must think more and harder about public affairs so that they can stimulate and aid others less instructed and careless in their thinking.

Then, too, the people must be moral. Moral character is the foundation of the state. It is this that gives the individual devotion and courage in battle, the will to sacrifice in war, insight and boldness in leadership, and manly independence to withstand the wiles and seduction of the corruptionists. Without this the result is dreary and a disillusion and a yielding to the despotism of those who have money or places or favours to bestow.

It seems to me, Gentlemen, the truth of that assertion is well exemplified in what we read of the position of the Russians at the present time. People are being forced into the battle front, apparently without any knowledge of what it is about and without any effort to develop a moral fibre behind it that will sustain them in time of battle.

It is equally necessary that the people must not be denied by power from the opportunity of self expression. They must enjoy the right of free speech, a free press, free assembly, free petition and free ballot which should never be regarded as a man's personal property to do with as he likes, but as something that belongs to the state, and to be properly and intelligently used in service to the state and his fellow citizens.

A man cannot be a good citizen, he cannot be free and independent and a strength to the state without a livelihood, without a home, without some property, or business or occupation, or some other interest to give him concern for the welfare and good order of the community.

Now, Sir, if I were to discuss with you economics, I would pose a question to you right here. In the recent Convention of the Chamber of Commerce we heard, I think, the finest statement on the rights of property owners, presented by Mr. Manning, of this city, that I ever heard in my life. It raises at once the problem of taxation on real property. Is it possible that our taxes may accumulate to the point that possession of real property becomes a very hazardous thing? Without our individual citizens having something that they can call their own, a piece of land that belongs to them, the problem of developing competent and able citizens becomes a very difficult one, indeed. Every honest and self-respecting citizen should have the right for self-support and for a reasonably adequate livelihood. But this must not be construed to mean that the State owes each of us a living without our working for it, or exercising the old characteristics of frugality, thrift and honest toil.

Sometimes I am afraid we have too many people talking about what the State owes to them and too few people thinking about what they owe to the community. (Applause) But it does mean that each citizen should have an opportunity to earn his own living.

And, further, a democracy demands that its citizenship be patriotic. Patriotism is love of country—the spirit that leads one to devote himself in service to his country and to the community by striving to know what is best for one's country as a whole, by placing one's country's interests above party or class or personal interests, by being willing to seek good government, whether it be Federal, Provincial or Municipal, and by using whatever personal capacities he may possess for the benefit of his fellow citizens.

Canada is a country of many nationalities. The true citizen will endeavour to understand the different racial viewpoints of the various elements which enter into our population. He will seek to divest himself of antipathy or prejudice towards any who have come to us from foreign lands, and will, by happy illustration of his own conduct, try to hasten appreciation of our Canadian ideals. A decade ago we sought by every legitimate way possible to induce these people to come to our country and join with us in developing it. Now, we must assimilate them and raise them to our conception of Canadian ideals and ideas, and see to it that nothing in the conduct of our personal and public affairs will lessen their faith in our way of life and form of government.

By far the great majority of these people are now loyal citizens of Canada. Many have acquired a piece of land and made homes for themselves. All are using our educational facilities for the education of their children. Canada is now their homeland and they stand ready to join in a united effort to defend and support our institutions and ideals. Horror of ruthless, despotic philosophies of Hitler and Stalin is expressed as freely by them as it is among our Anglo-Saxon people.

If I had time I would like to tell of some of the conversations I have had with some of our non-English speaking people in Manitoba, whose horror of what is going on in Europe today is just as vivid as is my own, but there is often a failure, on the part of these people, to understand in any very adequate way, the real reason for Canada's participation in the war, and the effect that the results of war may have on our Canadian ideals and way of life.

The heart of our cosmopolitan Canadian people is sound, as revealed in the response to our country's war appeal. Thousands of our best men are offering themselves for active service. Our women have freely registered their names for national service. The response to the war loan and to the Red Cross and similar appeals is realy marvellous.

That is well exemplified, Gentlemen, in the efforts of the Polish people in the Province of Manitoba, where they have subscribed very, very generously indeed to the support and help of the people who are suffering so severely in Europe today. And we see the Finns in our midst endeavouring to do the same thing.

But for a moment may I tell you something of our experiences in our Manitoba Red Cross? In Manitoba the

Red Cross was asked to raise $125,000.00. In three weeks, over $300,000.00 was collected. Our total now is $330,000.00, and a few simple illustrations will suffice to indicate the whole-hearted support received from all sections of our Province. In organizing our campaign we were almost innundated with offers of voluntary service. Our problem was not to find workers, but rather to use the many hundreds whose plea was, "Here am I, send me." In Greater Winnipeg all sections of the city, representing scores of different nationals, subscribed more than three times their allotment; and in a similar way the rural sections exceeded our most enthusiastic expectations.

I want to give a few illustrations of what happened in Manitoba and remember, Manitoba, like the rest of the West, has come through seven or eight very difficult years. in one little Ukranian community, 75 miles east of Winnipeg (I wish I had time to visualize for you the conditions under which these people are living in that little community, solidly Ukranian) one canvasser went out and in two days had gathered $125.00 from these poor settlers, who obtain only a bare living by selling cordwood. Our Mennonite districts voluntarily canvassed every home and sent in thousands of dollars. Our French communities were equally generous. In one little district in Northern Manitoba, with a mixed population, securing their living mainly by fishing and where money was very, very scarce, $56.00 was subscribed by a few poor families. One resident living in a mixed French and English district reported that he and his brother's family had decided that they would donate all the money that they had planned to spend at Christmas on each other and turned in $35.00 to our Red Cross campaign. That was not all. It just happened that in that little community no provision had been made for canvassing. This man came up and asked for a canvasser's certificate and the right to canvass his community. They asked me what to do about it. I said, "Any man who will voluntarily surrender his Christmas gifts in aid of the Red Cross could be judged worthy to go out and canvass in its interests."

Another farmer, and this man I happen to know personally, is an Englishman living in a Ukranian community, who is hardly able at any time during the summer to buy gasoline for his car, spent the whole week after buying his own gasoline, travelling the community, calling upon non-English-speaking homes, and in every case without a single exception, the people were waiting for him and voluntarily offered their money. A very aged German couple, a poor old man and his wife, came to our committee rooms in Winnipeg, and frankly stated that they had nothing to give but they pulled the wedding rings off their fingers and said, "Take these". We couldn't turn them away but that night when the Committee met there was turned in a paid up subscription for the Red Cross for that old couple, and we wrote a carefully prepared letter, expressing our appreciation of their desire to help, and their wedding rings were returned to them. All over the Province, many contributed by offering wheat or farm produce or cordwood or whatever they could offer.

So I say to you, Gentlemen, the heart of our people is good and we see manifest the desire of our Manitoba people to unitedly support our war effort.

Out of this campaign has come another factor that is bound to influence mightily the thinking and attitude of our people. Before the war we had sixteen rather inactive Red Cross Societies. Now we have 230 Societies, all actively engaged in war work, officered by competent men and women, and bringing together the men and women in those communities. The men and women of each district, irrespective of nationality, jointly working in an effort to create and provide those things that are so badly needed by the fighting forces of Canada. The impact of these things on the mental attitude of our people is bound to be enormous and will contribute perhaps as nothing else could to a determination to use every resource at our command in a defense of those things that are so dear to a democratic minded people.

The whole experience of our Red Cross Campaign indicated the desire of all our people to render active support to Canada's participation in the war. But during the actual contacts with these people it was found that there was a great deal of confusion in the minds of many as to why Canada was participating in another European war, and also an inadequate appreciation of Canadian democratic ideals. Some of these people, indeed many of them, had left Europe in the hope that they would forever get away from the conditions of war and, not knowing the ideals and the aspirations of our Canadian people they were asking in perfect sincerity and honesty, why is it necessary that Canada again should become involved in a European war?

Everyone sought for information and the information was hard to come by. With this in view the Canadian Clubs of Winnipeg decided to do something to fill the gap by attracting speakers here endowed with some degree of special knowledge on one or other aspect of the war, but this in itself was not enough. It might be possible to reach in this way audiences in Winnipeg itself, but what of the smaller centres more difficult to reach by speakers touring the Dominion? The Canadian Club, and I am not saying this boastfully, Gentlemen, therefore decided that, as part of its war programme, it might offer to provide speakers elsewhere in Manitoba where audiences were available if the speakers could be found.

Some of the cities and towns of Manitoba were therefore communicated with and the proposal made that the Canadian Club would try to send out the best available speakers if these communities felt their local audiences sought to be informed on the general questions rising out of the war.

Local Boards of Trade, Service Clubs, Returned Soldiers' organizations, Agricultural Societies and other local societies were asked to organize the local meetings, do the advertising and arrange the place and date of meeting, provide any additional local entertainment desired and, in short, do everything necessary to secure a well attended public meeting. The Canadian Club agreed to provide the speaker desired by the community; that is to say, we gave the community the right to select a speaker from a list with which they were supplied, and we assumed all the travelling expenses. If desired, a Forum Period would be conducted at the close of the address so that as much information as possible will be provided.

The assumption of this task by the Winnipeg Canadian Club deserves commendation. It is a modest attempt to spread information of vital importance to every citizen of Canada, and to put sources of knowledge available in larger centres of population at the disposal of smaller centres whose resources in this respect are likely to be less. The movement is now only just beginning, but it is altogether likely that other points within range of the Winnipeg Canadian Club will respond to the invitation now being generally made. There is something here which similar Clubs all across Canada might make their special duty so long as the war lasts, and indeed continue into the difficult days of peace that lie somewhere ahead.

So we believe that if we can do something to create in our Province and in this Dominion a more thorough and correct understanding of the whole purpose of this war, and the results that may come from it, we are much more likely to get unity in the prosecution of the war and unity in support of constructive programmes designed to meet conditions that arise out of the war.

Canada is a great country, rich in resources, rich in the ideals of its historical traditions, rich in its opportunities and rich in its relation to our Mother Country and sister Dominions. And in contrast to conditions in Europe, truly are we rich in the privileges that are ours in the freedom, liberty and right of self-expression that we enjoy. Surely our's is a country blessed of God, and a country that deserves our unyielding devotion and service. The preservation of all these things and life itself is the issue of this war. The despotic countries of Germany and Russia are determined to crush out everything that makes life worth living in order to satisfy the cruel, greedy, ambitions of the Power-crazed rulers of those countries. Once again, Britain and France are called upon to throw everything they possess into the defense of liberty and justice and to the overthrow of might without right, Canada proudly and determinedly takes her stand with the Mother Country in defence of all that we hold to be sacred and worthwhile and without which life itself would be worthless and without purpose. And so the challenge of this war to Canada is the challenge of life itself. Such a challenge must not only draw from us the complete consecration of all that we possess, our man-power and our productive and financial resources, but impose upon us the duty of informing our people on the issues at stake, the ideals for which we stand, and the sacrifices all must make so that by complete unity of action and purpose we can render the greatest possible assistance to our Mother Country and her Allies in their struggle to save Democracy for the world and future generations. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I am sure you all agree with me that the earlier remarks that I made at the commencement of this meeting were justified, and that the Honourable Mr. McKenzie has effectively demonstrated in his excellent address, the wide knowledge that he has, not only of the main industry in Western Canada, but the social and political economy of that part of our Dominion, and the racial problems involved. We greatly appreciate such an address from Mr. McKenzie at this time when democracies, as we know them, are going through a period of trial which will test the soundness of their foundations. Mr. McKenzie has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the situation and on behalf of the Members of the Empire Club, I thank him most heartily for his kindness in honouring us today. Thank you. (Applause)

"RACIAL RELATIONS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA"

AN ADDRESS BY MR. D. deWAAL MEYER

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

February 29, 1940

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Empire Club: It is with much pleasure that we welcome our guest-speaker of today, Mr. deWaal Meyer, of the Union of South Africa, who has the distinction of being the first Accredited Representative of one of our British Dominions in Canada. Mr. Meyer is well qualified to deal with the subject he has chosen today. Born in Capetown, he was educated in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, and is an M.A. of Grey University. Subsequently he took a post graduate course in the University of Rotterdam. He is thoroughly familiar with the industry of South Africa and was Private Secretary to the Minister of Mines and Industries in 1924, and two years later he was placed in charge of the External Trade Division of the same Department.

In 1932 he was made a Member of the Economic Advisory and Tariff Board of the Government, and in 1934 was given the post of Trade Commissioner at Montreal. He received his present appointment in 1938.

I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. deWaal Meyer, whose subject will be "Racial Relations in the Union of South Africa." (Applause)

MR. D. DEWAAL MEYER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I regard it as a great privilege to address such a representative gathering as you have here today. It shows how interested you are to hear me tell you something about racial relations in our country. The last time I spoke in this room was a few years ago when I addressed the

Kiwanis Club. At that time I spoke more about the commercial relations, but as an Empire Club I think you would be more interested in knowing what is going on in our country today, and that is why I chose this subject.

Somebody asked me, what do you mean by racial relations? An American was present and he said, "Racial relations would be relations between whites and blacks, because of course, the Europeans are all of one race."

Now, I don't want to make fine distinctions about race, but in our country they do refer to the relationship between the two sections of the European population as a racial question, and I propose today to speak to you, not only of the actual racial relations between the black race and the white race, but also of the relations between the two sections of the white population.

Before doing so I would like to make a very few remarks about our country, because my experience has been that people in Canada, as well as in other parts of the world where I have been, know very, very little about South Africa. The fact that the word "Africa" appears in the name leads people to believe that South Africa is a black country, an uncivilized country, where we have wild animals to contend with and savage conditions like you find in Central Africa. Now, the Continent of Africa is fully fifty per cent larger than the North American Continent—from the Panama up to Alaska. It is much larger than most people realize, and the Union of South Africa, the country about which I am going to talk to you today, is only about one-twentieth of that enormous continent.

The country is not tropical; it is sub-tropical; and only in certain parts of the country do we get conditions that approach the tropical. In Johannesburg, the largest city in the country, we get temperatures as low as 16 degrees of frost.

The people are very friendly. They are a very hospitable people, and on the whole they live together in a very friendly fashion. The dominant problems of our country have to do with racial questions. There is the problem of the native, as we call him. That means the black man only and not the white. Of course, here, you would call me a native of South Africa. In South Africa, if you call a man a native you mean he is a black man. In our country the racial question is entirely a question of white and black.

Then there is the racial relations between the Boers and the British. I will use the term "Boer" throughout, because that is the term usually used in Canada. In South Africa, the word "Boer" means "farmer", and is not used to designate any section of the population. In Canadian terminology, I would be a Boer, in South African terminology, I wouldn't be anything of the kind, unless I were a farmer.

In addition to that there is another relationship, that is between the Germans and the South Africans. Southwest Africa was formerly a German Colony, which was mandated to the Union of South Africa, the mandate amounting to almost complete government. Our Union Government appoints a so-called Administrator to govern the country. That Governor is assisted by an elected body, a small Advisory Council, and the Civil Servants who work in the country are appointed by the Union Government. So the country is governed, or practically governed, by the Union, but subject to the approval, for whatever that approval may be worth, of the League of Nations.

Now, due to the fact that Southwest Africa is so closely related at the present time to the Union Government, we have the question also of Southwest Africa versus the Union.

In order to fully appreciate the conditions existing today in the Union, I am afraid I will have to take you back a little into our history. Our country was colonized by a Dutch commercial concern, the Dutch East India Company in 1652. The object originally was to have a station half way between Holland and Java, to have a station where fresh food and vegetables, and fresh meat could be produced and supplied to the ships in order to alleviate that dread scourge of scurvy to which sailors in those days were subjected on long voyages. However, it soon appeared that the country was very fertile and a permanent settlement of Dutch began there.

The only people found there by the Dutch were the Hottentots. The Hottentots were a very small tribe and they did not cause very much trouble. Sometimes they stole the cattle of the Dutch settlers, but on the whole the Hottentots were soon subdued and lived in comparative peace with the white man.

In 1688, thirty-six years after the country was first settled, a large number of French were sent out by the Dutch East India Company, a number of French Huguenots. However, because the Dutch settlement was quite small, measures were taken to prevent the French from forming a colony, and soon the French language died out, and today, although you find the names of Marchand, Dupré, Duplessis, Hébert, and similar names throughout our country, the French language has practically died out and the French is not a racial factor in our country today—using race again to distinguish between nations as well as actual ethnological races.

Shortly after the French came out there, the Dutch Government took over the colony and appointed the Governors to rule it. These Governors, naturally, had to commence with a little more law and order, according to the ordinary system prevailing in Holland and the people in South Africa, many of them, didn't like it very much. They had been used to living in a fairly easy way, in their own way, and they moved out toward the east, Capetown being in the southwest corner of the Continent. So they moved out for about 400 miles, and found no tribes of any kind at all. The country was just vacant, and they started farming and went further eastward until they came in contact with the Kaffirs, who came down from the north. The Kaffirs are closely related to the negroes. They are more or less of the same race—race being used in the ethnological sense.

The Kaffirs naturally did not like the white man to come in there. The Kaffirs were strong, there was a large number of tribes and they started pillaging the whites. The white people retaliated by organizing expeditions and very frequently killed off quite a number of Kaffirs and took perhaps more cattle back than had been stolen, and for a long time a state of endemic warfare existed on that border.

Just about this time, South Africa, or the Cape Colony of that time, passed into the hands of England. That was in 1806. It was as a result of the adjustment that took place during the Napoleonic wars that the Cape ultimately passed into the hands of Great Britain. Some missionaries from the London Missionary Society went out there, imbued with wonderful ideas about the equality of all human beings, and not making allowance for differences in education and mentality, they made reports to England which, unfortunately, were taken so seriously that for some time a native policy was adopted in South Africa, which caused very, very great dissatisfaction.

It was this native policy, as much as anything else, that led to the great trek northward. Just at the time that this dissatisfaction with the native policy in South Africa reached its height, the slaves were being liberated, and the way in which the slaves were liberated caused the dissatisfaction to increase, with the result that a large number of these Hollanders (they were still Dutch at that time) said, "We are having nothing but trouble from the English Government. We want to get away from them and get north." And those were the two factors, the prime causes, of the great trek northward, the trek which resulted in the establishment of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republics.

Now, for quite a long time these Republics progressed in their own way until ultimately gold was discovered in the Transvaal. Do I need to go into the trouble which followed the discovery of gold? The discovery of gold led to continued friction between the English in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal. The Cape Colony had a Prime Minister who worked in close conjunction with Great Britain, but there was continual friction between the Transvaal and the English until ultimately the Boer War resulted, with everything that war means. War at any time, and however it is waged, is always a very nasty business, and one cannot wage war with gloves on, when you come down to bare facts, and naturally, the conquered, the defeated, will always feel bitter about the methods employed, just the same as the conqueror will try and forget the methods that were deemed necessary in warfare. In warfare the object is to beat the other man, irrespective of what the methods may be. You may start off and try to use good methods. If good methods don't avail you employ necessary methods, ultimately, and that causes trouble, of course. That is responsible to a large extent for the bitterness that you still may find coming up in the country here and there.

Now, before I come to the present stiuation between the Europeans, I want to speak about the situation as regards the blacks and the whites, the native problem. The native problem is our greatest economic problem. The Union of South Africa has two million whites and as such is the outpost of white civilization on the Continent of Africa. Although our country occupies only one-twentieth of the whole of Africa, our country has only two million whites, as opposed to over six and a half million blacks. We are therefore outnumbered by over three to one.

When I speak about the blacks I don't speak about a few bushmen. There were a few bushmen in the colony when the Dutch arrived there but the bushmen were so primitive they couldn't assimilate the civilization that was coming in and they just died out. Today you will find hardly a bushman in the country. The Hottentots were absorbed. That brings me to the case of the half castes. In our country you will find a half caste community only around Capetown. That half caste community is a cross between the Hottentots who settled there, a small tribe that gradually mixed with the whites—mostly soldiers and sailors.

Books have been written recently, books that have received wide circulation, in which it has been stated that the racial barrier between the white and black has been broken down. I have no hesitation in saying that is based on untruth and a twisting of facts. The opposition between whites and blacks in our country is so great that you will not find association between the whites and the blacks in that respect and the half caste community which is settled at the Cape is the result, primarily, of a mixture of

Hottentots with sailors and soldiers stationed at Capetown. When we come into the interior there are very few half castes, crossed between Kaffirs and the whites. You will find a few isolated cases but you could not speak of any half caste community outside of the Cape. These Hottentots were absorbed as mentioned above, but the blacks, as I said, were continually fighting with the whites, and the result was there has been a very definite feeling of opposition between the two peoples, as far as social and martial and similar relations are concerned.

The country today, in spite of the fact that we are outnumbered three to one by the blacks is run entirely as the white man's country. The black man does not do anything but unskilled work. We have even gone so far that we have introduced legislation to prevent the black men from doing semi-skilled or skilled work. The reason for that is that the lower grades of white man would have to compete with the black man if we didn't do it, and that would aggravate the unemployment of the white man and the so-called "poor white" problem.

Now this restriction of employment by legislation is carried out only in the European territory. In our country large territories have been reserved for the black man. In those territories they are still governed by their Chiefs, according to the way they have always been governed. They are, however, subject to the supervision of white magistrates or native commissioners, as we call them. In those territories they live as they have lived for thousands of years. The black man is still the master of the household. He still buys as many wives as he can with his cattle and the more wives he has the richer he is because he sits and basks in the sun while his wives do the work. If they don't do the work he teaches them how to do it in his own primitive way!

Many people have said it is unethical of us to restrict the black man like that, to keep the black man down. Now I believe that the reason for it is that we feel down in the bottom of our hearts (I have never heard it said in South Africa. I don't suppose anyone would say it and I don't believe it would be politic to say it in our country) that if we don't prevent the black man from gradually coming up higher and higher in the economic scale, he will ultimately swamp us. We therefore have to fight for our existence. I feel, therefore, that the methods we are adopting to maintain our supremacy are just methods which are actuated by the urge for self-preservation which is the most primitive urge in any man and also in any nation.

The black man, however, is much better off than before the white man came there. So, from that point of view, too, I don't think it is unethical. Before the white man came into the country, the Kaffirs were fighting among each other. There was a very strong Zulu tribe that laid waste large areas of the country, killed the men and carried the women away to work for them. In times of drought—and we can have terrific drought in our country—you would find the Kaffirs dying off and nothing was done to keep them alive. It was the state of affairs that you have in any primitive country. Now that the white man has come in there the natives are living in peace, not only with the white man but also with each other.

They still have racial antipathies but they never reach the stage where war or fighting eventuates. In times of famine the white man comes along with food. We ship sometimes, thousands of tons of Kaffir corn into native areas to keep them alive in times of drought and famine. So the black man is really very much better off in spite of the restrictions that we lay upon him.

Furthermore, we are also catering to the mental development of the native. We realize, although we would not like them to develop too rapidly and eventually swamp us, that we cannot restrict mental development and there are a number of subsidized schools in the country where the natives can learn to read and write and study as far as they wish. However, the ordinary native is just a child in his mentality. He doesn't care about reading and writing. If he has enough to eat he is happy. The majority of the natives, perhaps, will go to school a few years and some of them will get to the stage where they can write a letter that it would make you smile to read and that is all they think of education. You do find, however, a number of natives who go further. There are a few lawyers, a few doctors and a few Professors of Literature in our country, but they are not of any real importance.

The great advantage of the native in the country, of course, is that he is a source of cheap labour. In the Transvaal and the gold mines where there are 350,000 natives employed today, they are paid sixty cents a day, with food and lodging. They are fed cheaply but very well. In order to work in our gold mines where sometimes they have to work as deep as 8,500 feet below ground they must be physically fit. For that reason they are fed under medical supervision, they get the right amount of vitamins, carbohydrates, and so forth. That sixty cents really means money from home, because they require very, very little for their own keep, outside of what they get in the mines. They usually go back to their homes, after having worked in the mines for a few years, and then can buy a few extra wives with the money they accumulate.

Now, the cheap labour develops our resources but we find we haven't enough Kaffirs and have to go outside of the Union to look for more Kaffirs to work in the gold mines. So we go to Portuguese East Africa to get more labour and in this way the native question gets into international relationships and has resulted in the opening up lately of a Legation of the Union of South Africa in Lisbon, in order to adjust little differences we may have with the Portuguese Government. I may mention that these differences have been very amicably settled and the relations between the Portuguese Government and the Union are of the friendliest.

Now these natives providing cheap labour as they do, limit the field of employment for the white man and you find the white man unable to do skilled work becomes a liability to the state. He becomes what we call a "poor white", and the poor white problem is a very, very grave problem. We have tried in various ways to deal with this problem but we have not yet gone over to giving them the so-called dole. In our country we have been able, up to the present, to refrain from paying any man for doing nothing. (Applause) If a white man cannot find employment, then the government gives him work, and we give him work of such a nature that as soon as he can find ready employment he will take it. The work they do is on the roads. Road making is normally Kaffir work, but we have certain roads on which we use just white men, and they get about six shillings a day, say $1.50 a day, and they will get out of that work as soon as they can find something better to do. Of course you find many people who are not able to do anything better, so the government has spent large sums of money on relief schemes. For instance, we have large irrigation projects and we are trying to put these poor whites back on the land under these irrigation projects. In that way we have spent perhaps as much money on helping the unemployed and the unemployable as you find in other countries being paid to these people. Unfortunately, up to the present we have found that there are very many whites who just cannot do anything. They can't get beyond the stage of doing unskilled work and these people we put on these economic schemes where we use white labour instead of black.

Now, I have been frequently asked, has the native any vote? Yes and no. In the Cape Colony, which is today called the Cape Province, the black man has had a vote continually up to 1938. In the other provinces he had no vote, but there are comparatively few blacks in the Cape who qualified for that vote, even though the qualifications are low, with the result the blacks have perhaps controlled only two or three seats in the Union House of Assembly, out of the total membership of 153. For quite some time our Government has been exercised over the problem of giving the blacks throughout the country some voice in their own government, at any rate. That is apart, of course, from the voice they have in their native reserves; and the native reserves, as I pointed out just now, are governed by their own Chiefs; but in the rest of the country we have ultimately given them a Council of their own, which acts as an Advisory Council to Parliament, and where they meet every now and then under the Department of Native Affairs to give the Government the natives' point of view. In addition to that the natives of each province appoints one white man to the Union House of Assembly. No black man may sit in the Assembly. So they appoint four white men to support their point of view in Parliament. These men have votes in matters relating to the natives, but not on other matters, although they can join in discussion of all questions that come up in the House. Since these measures have been introduced, the Union has restricted the vote in the Cape Province to those blacks who had the vote at that time. They will retain their vote, but with their death the vote of the black men in white constituencies will die out entirely, the idea being to develop the native vote in such a way that the native can have a say in his own government without having a say in the government of the white man.

Now, coming from the native question to the relationship between the Boer and the British. About sixty per cent of the people in the Union of South Africa today speak Afrikaans, forty percent speak English. Afrikaans is a language which has been derived from the Dutch but has been influenced greatly by English. The grammar is even simpler than the English grammar today, while the original Dutch has quite a complicated grammar. In the Afrikaans language you will find many English words. An Afrikander can still understand Dutch if he reads it. If he goes to Holland without having heard it before he won't understand very much more than a Hollander would understand Afrikaans. The difference is not the same as between Canadian and Parisian French, where there is a question of accent and of words but where they have the same written language. In our country, the written language is grammatically very different, and even from a syntax point of view is different also.

Now the Boers and the British have come into conflict continually, as I mentioned just now. After the Boer War it was only natural that there should be quite a strong feeling of bitterness against the English. This is exemplified by something that happened very shortly after the end of the war. Naturally, as you know, during the war there was a lot of wanton destruction going on, and practically every sheep and animal on the farms of the Boers were shot and the houses burned down and so on. So after the war, Great Britain felt she wanted to make some form of restitution to smooth matters over, and certain men went around to assess the damage that had been done, and to see what could be done to restore things again. Among them were a number of people who had lived in the country before. One old Major there had lived on very friendly terms with the Boers before that time and he was speaking to a man who was quite a good friend before the war. He said, "You know, I can understand how you feel. War is a nasty business and the one at the wrong end of the stick always feels badly about it. But think of this and it may console you. Great Britain is not an ordinary country. The British are the greatest people in the world. Do you know the British are so powerful that the sun never sets on the British Empire?" The old man looked at him and said, "Yes, I know. It seems to me that even God doesn't trust an Englishman in the dark!"

The Treaty of Veruniging promised the Boer Generals who met there, among the most prominent of whom were General Smuts, General Hertzog, General Botha and General De Wet, that self-government would be restored to them as soon as was possible and also made several other promises, and the source of the co-operation which you find between the two nations in the country today dates from that time. Great Britain played ball with the Boers right from the start after the war. That is why you find today that a large section of our people are standing by the British the way they do. Immediately after the war the English saw that the Afrikander was settling down and didn't bear ill will. I may say that is characteristic of our people. They were, up to the last generation, very religious. They believed in not letting the sun set on their wrath—that good advice we get from the Bible—and also they were a very easy going people, a very friendly and hospitable people, and they don't bear malice. They may be cheated in a commercial deal, perhaps, today by some vagrant who bought a cow and paid too little, and two or three months later they are on quite friendly terms with him again. This easy-going characteristic of the Boer, together with his religious tenets also helped to improve the friendly relationship between the Afrikander and the English.

The British were so satisfied with the relationship between the two peoples that only four years after the conclusion of the war, in 1906, the British gave those two republics self-government again, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. Only four years later, in 1910, the Union of South Africa was consummated under a government in which both English and Afrikanders were represented. Shortly after the Union, however, we found a split among the Boers. We found a large section of the people were impressed with the treatment they had received from Great Britain, and also realized that it was in their material interests to be associated with the British Empire and worked in close co-operation with the English. On the other hand, you found a section of the people who could not forget the war and still thought of the trials and tribulations through which they had passed, they and their women folks, and they pulled in an opposite direction. They began the slogan, you might say, of "South Africa First"—a slogan later on taken up in various parts of the Empire. I think that at one time the slogan "Canada First" was heard also in Canada, and today it is realized, it is accepted. The protaganist of this party was General Hertzog. General Hertzog said we should strive for complete independence for our country. On the other hand, we found Generals Botha and Smuts saying they were perfectly satisfied to remain with the English.

Now, although the attitude of the party led by Hertzog frankly took on a strong anti-British bias, the basis of it was not anti-British. The basis was merely pro-Afrikaans. The party grew and grew until ultimately the party came into power as you know, and the Government of General Hertzog remained in South Africa for fifteen consecutive years, from 1924 until last year. When Hertzog became Prime Minister of the Union, he immediately said, "Let us co-operate with the British. We have no thought of cutting our tie with Britain. We wish to co-operate, but we want independence for South Africa." This went on until the Balfour Declaration in 1926, and when this was actually laid down in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, Hertzog said, "After all, we now have our independence and there is nothing more to strive for in that direction." The result was General Hertzog and General Smuts came together in 1933, and since then they have worked together to build a united South Africa. I left in 1934 and when I returned in 1938 I was very pleased to see the excellent feeling between the Afrikanders and the English. There was a section on one side that spoke of a republic, but that section was not very large.

This continued until war broke out and when war broke out, General Hertzog, again with his strong feeling of South Africanism, said, "While we do not wish to be disassociated from the British Empire, while we are willing to remain with the British Empire on the same footing as heretofore, we do not see why we should declare war now, why we should not maintain neutrality and the *status quo*, even though Great Britain go into war."

Now, when he took up that attitude, of course there was a division in Parliament, and a majority of the members of Parliament voted against him. Then he fell out and General Smuts took over the government, with the result that today we have a government entirely behind the British at the present time in the war in every possible way. (Applause)

The difference between Generals Smuts and Hertzog is this. When Great Britain declared war on Germany last September, it was felt throughout South Africa that the Union's geographic and strategic position having regard particularly to the large native population, open to communistic propaganda, and the Germans in S.W.A., was such that it would be exceedingly difficult for South Africa to participate actively in the war. General Hertzog wished the Union to remain neutral until such time as the interests of the Union were definitely threatened. General Smuts, on the other hand, judged that the Union's interests were already threatened and the right thing was to declare war immediately, even though he could not encourage South Africans to enlist for service overseas.

When the question was put to Parliament, General Hertzog was defeated, with the result that General Smuts is now the Prime Minister, with the support of the Union pledged to Britain in every way short of sending men outside of Africa.

You must understand that no Boers are pro-British by sentiment at all. Why should they be? They have no British blood in their veins and they were defeated by the British. But a large number of Afrikanders feel it is definitely in their interests to remain with the British Empire, to be associated with the British Empire in the way we are, and if we are to do that the right thing is to go into the war right now and do the best we can to prevent that really fine organization, the British Commonwealth of Nations, from suffering defeat or disintegration. That is the attitude of the majority of those Afrikanders who are standing together with the English. The forty per cent who are English are the sentimentalists, and the two together, the forty percent who are English, and the Afrikanders who regard this as a matter of material advantage more than anything else, form the largest section of the people.

Now, while perhaps many of the Afrikanders may be for neutrality, all those opposing the Government today are by no means anti-British. Only a small proportion of them are. You may have read the report of what happened in Parliament. You may have read of such terms as "The disciple of Hitler", "Pro-Nazi", and things like that. Don't take it seriously. You people know what happens when one gets up in political debate. All kinds of things are put in a much stronger way than if those taking part were actually conversing in an ordinary conversation. These statements that you hear are made in the heat of political discussion and must not be taken at their face value.

Colonel Denys Reitz, the Minister of our present Government who represented South Africa at the recent Conference in England, where Mr. Crerar represented Canada, stated that although thirty per cent of the people in South Africa may be anti-British, you will find they are a hundred per cent anti-Nazi, and that gives, perhaps, the situation as it is today.

I just clarify these points because I feel that you should know there is no pro-Naziism in our country. As I have pointed out, whatever feeling of neutrality there is is based primarily on their feeling of love of freedom and love of independence.

Now all of you know that Naziism is acknowledgedly entirely opposed to any self-expression, any individualism, and any freedom. It is inconceivable that South Africa could stand for that policy. If the time may ever come, which God forbid, when the Germans should be able to get outside of Europe, the Union Government is today pledged to help the British in all the British colonies, to help them in Tanganyika and Southwest Africa, or anywhere else where they may constitute a threat to the British Empire. Although we are not participating in the Empire's air scheme here it is not because we don't want to. It is because we feel it is not expedient. There would be no object for South Africa to come from a geographical location away down there to train here. We are co-operating with Great Britain in a training scheme and in South Africa we are giving facilities to the Kenya, Tanganyika and other British possessions to train in South Africa, and we are today pledged to help you. We are in the war and we are going to make the best of it. If we do not send people abroad it is not because we don't want to but because we feel it is not in the interests of Great Britain, of South Africa, and of all those who are opposed to despotism and terrorism to do so. (Applause—prolonged.)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we are very much indebted to Mr. Meyer today for his excellent talk and his illuminating address on the racial relations in South Africa, and we are indeed fortunate in having one who is so familiar with the conditions existing in that country to give us such a talk today. He has demonstrated, I believe, fully, the generous and broad-minded policies of the British Government in permitting countries which have come under its control to have self-government in their national interest, and how that is working out in South Africa today. It must be very gratifying to the people of South

Africa that they are permitted this self-government, and we trust that they will continue, as in the past, to maintain their position in the British Commonwealth as we have been assured by Mr. Meyer today. Canada was in a somewhat similar position many years ago, and Canada, with its longer history of Confederation is an example of the happy unity of racial differences and nationalities within its boundary, although it has not that great native problem that Mr. Meyer has spoken of today.

I am sure we are all indebted to Mr. Meyer and I extend to him on your behalf our sincere appreciation and thanks for the excellent address he has given us today.

(Applause)

"DICTATORS AND DEMOCRATS"

AN ADDRESS BY MISS ROSITA FORBES, F.R.G.S.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, March 7, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a distinct honour to welcome as our guest-speaker today, Rosita Forbes, the world famous explorer, writer and lecturer. Her love of adventure has led her to most of the countries of the world, and the story of her travels, as our announcement says, reads like a *Thousand Arabian Nights.*

Miss Forbes has made important contributions to our knowledge of geography, notably as a result of her expeditions in Africa in 1920, to the sacred Moslem centre of Kufara in the Libyan desert, and through Abyssinia in 1926. The route which she mapped out through Abyssinia was, strangely enough, the one chosen for the invasion of that country.

Miss Forbes is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, and an Honorary Member of the Belgian, Dutch, Italian, Swedish, French and other Geographical Societies. She has received the Gold Medal of the Royal Antwerp Geographical Society and the French Geographical Society, and the medal of the Royal Society of Arts.

Miss Forbes' travels have brought her into touch with rulers and statesmen throughout the world. She has had the opportunity to investigate the trend of their thoughts, and to discuss with them the problems of peace and war.

With all of the work that she has done in exploring and investigating in high places in these various countries, she has been a prolific writer, and her many books, with their wide range of subjects, are in great demand.

I have the honour to introduce our distinguished guest, Rosita Forbes, whose subject is "Dictators and Democrats".

(Applause)

MISS ROSITA FORBES, F.R.G.S.: Gentlemen and Ladies (There are two ladies, aren't there?) : I am told I may begin with a rather absurd joke, just to make you feel happy, because the last time I was asked to address a gathering that was almost entirely men, was at Pentonville Prison. The Governor thought the minds of his prisoners needed enlightening, so he invited me to talk to them about travel and this, unfortunately, is how he introduced me: "Men", he said, (not Friends), "when I told the men that Rosita Forbes was coming to talk to us this afternoon, they said, 'Dear me, that is very odd. We understood this was a prison for men, and murderers, too. Who has she done in?' "

Now, I have come to try and give you some glimpses into the minds of the half dozen men whose greed, whose ambition, whose loves as well as whose hates have made the war today and, because all of us as Democrats are are entitled to our own ideas, however original they may be, about the war they are waging today, I would like to say just this. It seems to me that this war is not one of nations or of patriotism. It is not even one of an Empire, or two Empires against totalitarian states. We are fighting for a system of living, just because that particular system of living happens to appeal to us more than the tyranny of Russia and Germany. Therefore, this war is not so much a crusade or an adventure as a job that we have simply got to put through in order that our own particular jobs may be safe for the rest of our lives.

Now, I have known Hitler since 1933, and because I have seen it so often said in the Canadian papers, in spite of most strenuous denials, I must put on record this fact: I have never, never in the whole course of my life interviewed anyone at all, except Hitler once, for fun, in June, 1933.

Neither Mr. Chamberlain, who has known me personally for fifteen years, nor Mussolini, whom I have also known for many years, would dream of according me an interview. Nor, I am sure, would Stalin, whom I met through my friendship with his second wife. Nor would the Kings or statesmen of Europe whom I have met through my husband's and my brother's official positions, and through the fact I have accepted invitations to speak at various European and American Geographical Societies.

So what I am speaking of are merely conversations at luncheons or dinners during country house visits.

When I first knew Hitler in 1933, he was greatly depressed over the position of the defeated nation as among the great powers. In those days he was fond of saying, "It is happiness I want for Germany. We don't need very much, but we must have something."

I quote that, not because I believe Hitler ever told me or anyone else the truth in all his life, because words to him don't mean facts, they are just a pretty pattern, or a weapon that will gain him a momentary advantage. I tell you this to show you he has changed very much in six years. In 1933, when I asked him what he was going to do for the women of Germany, he said, "Give them better husbands." When I asked what had most moved him in all his life, he said, "The death of my mother." In those days he had, presumably, a human side.

This year, in July, on the last of many, many visits to him in Berlin and Berchtesgaden, he was obsessed by war, but even in July he did not believe he would have to fight the British and the French Empires. I am convinced that he believed he could put off the final war with the two great democracies, that he knew would eventually stand in his way, for five or six years.

I saw Hitler in July. He said such things as these: "Truth is a luxury, it is always a luxury. In time of war it immediately becomes contrabrand." That, by way of a joke. I think it is also one of his fundamental principles. He knows the value of words and uses them as weapons.

He said, "It is ridiculous to talk of international law and of war in the same breath because the two words are directly contradictory. You cannot have them both."

He said to me, "There can be no front line in the next war and every human being who is against me will be my enemy."

But I never heard Hitler boast of secret weapons. Goering was present at one of the interviews with Hitler and it is he who is rather the Robin Hood of Germany and I think a more boastful individual than the Fuehrer. It was Goering who said to me, "We have enough secret weapons to sink your whole fleet. You can never hope to blockade us effectively. We can close our land frontier (that means the Westwall), and a few of the northern ports." Goering went on, I think quite intelligently, under the circumstances, to point out that during the last war we were able to effectively blockade Germany because we closed all of the Russian and the Italian frontier, as well as the Baltic. He said, "Think how the position is today. We have two Allies, Russia and Italy, through whose frontiers we can obtain everything we require." And I would point out that Italian importing is up forty-five per cent since the war broke out.

Then he said, "We shall acknowledge no neutrality in the next war. Every country not with us will be against us." Hitler, listening, nodded and said, "Yes, that is quite true. Neutrality is another expensive luxury we cannot possibly allow ourselves if we have to make another major war." Goering went on all through the conversation, emphasizing the point that Germany could blockade us—a little vulnerable island, entirely surrounded by the sea, very much more effectively than we could ever hope to blockade Germany.

I do think we should think of that when we think of the various ways in which we can win the war. Personally, with eighteen years of intimate acquaintance, since 1918, I do not believe the blockade we have instituted can possibly be effective for some years.

I believe Germany needs nickel and wolfram (not wolframite)—the Chinese product comes from the Valley of Hanghow—and tungsten. Those three metals are necessary. Are you sure Germany is not going to get Finnish nickel if her ally, Russia, wins this abominable war? Are you sure she cannot get the Chinese products of wolfram and tungsten through the Siberian railway?

I asked Hitler in July if he were quite sure that Russia would come in as his ally. As early as July he said, "The terms of the Russian-German Pact may not be quite settled, but I am convinced the two great totalitarian states of Central Europe and the North will fight together." That did not surprise me because as early as March last year my German friends had been quoting to me actual terms of the Russo-German Pact. If you had studied the newspapers you would have realized that for a whole year Hitler had been saying nothing against the Communists. I don't believe Hitler's loathing for Communism has changed. I think that is still one of the strongest points in our favour. He once said, "My last war will be against the Soviet. There is nothing good in Russia. To say there is anything good in Communism is treachery to humanity." I think quite possibly he believes that. I am sure his Generals refused to fight on two fronts and persuaded him at least a year ago into this alliance with Russia.

I think another mistake, perhaps we are making, if you don't mind my saying so, is to hope for a breaking up of Germany, as a result of the blockade. When I was in Germany last July, one of the German leaders said, "Russia will starve a few more miserable millions in order to feed a few more Germans, if necessary." None of the German leaders have an illusion about their Russian ally. They know that Communism is complete tyranny, but they are convinced that Russia, with German organization, can supply them with practically all the raw materials, they need.

One interesting point that I should like to offer is this. I have travelled the length and breadth of Russia, through all the industrial areas and the cities of the north, and every effective person I met in all that territory was a German. When I required any information about getting around I walked through the streets of the town until I met a person, well dressed, clean and capable, and asked him for assistance. He was always a German engineer, scientist, architect, technician or oil man. That I do think is interesting.

I will suggest also, as the civilian population in Germany has no voice whatsoever, they can be quite safely left to starve without being able to make a revolution. Since I have been in Canada, I have been often asked how much of effective Germany is behind Hitler. Whatever I answer always annoys my audience. Let me say, first, of course there must be many brilliant Jews who are not behind Hitler, there must be some intellectuals of the universities, there must be some deeply religious people, in Bavaria, perhaps, and there must be priests, and perhaps some of of the friendly company, mostly old German folk, who drank beer with us in Berlin and Berchtesgaden and discussed philosophy with us to all hours of the night, but those people are not armed. How in heaven's name, can you expect them to make a revolution when the total armed forces of the country, backed by the Nazis are to a man behind Hitler? I think if we are honest with ourselves today we will acknowledge that ninety per cent of all the effective, strong forcible people in Germany today are solidly behind the Fuehrer. First, because of their intense gratitude to him. He has given them back their great position among the nations of the world, he has given them work, he has given them their self respect, their pride of race and the chance, they imagine, of world dominion.

The second reason, of course, is ambition. Nobody who isn't a Nazi in Germany today has any chance at all. The third reason, quite probably, is fear. Don't for a moment let us kid ourselves that the ordinary German in Germany today believes if we win the war there is to be a great improvement in their situation. They all know they are fighting with their backs against the wall to stop another fifteen years of bitter defeatism, such as followed the last Great War. We may in our idealistic hearts, and we in the democracies are idealists, imagine that after years and years of war, after losing our sons and brothers and husbands, we may be still so Godlike as to impose a merciful treaty on a defeated Germany. You will never get Germany to believe that, so the last ten per cent, out of fear, possibly are behind the Fuehrer.

The people of Canada ask what has the man actually done to change the spirit of Germany? He said, "I will not have a Christian in my bodyguard. No patriot should need a better heaven than his own country. Religion is effete and it is a barrier to patriotism." He also said, "If a man does not agree with me he might as well take his own life because he is of no more service to Germany."

When you get a man conceited to that extent and so one-idea'd as that, you must realize he started what is a new religion in Germany. He has started the religion of violence, of force, of cruelty, and unfortunately, in Germany there was always that element of cruelty. Unfortunately, also, Hitler's first persecution of the Jews was popular with a very large number of Aryan Germans, because the Hebrews had the best brains in Germany,—therefore, the best jobs,—and Aryan Germany was jealous of the Jews in the great positions in art, in the municipalities, in the universities and in the schools. Therefore, that first persecution was distinctly popular with the ordinary German people and that, as you know, is the reason why future persecutions have had such success. In the first one the seeds of violence and cruelty were sown.

Last July—you know I was going to Africa—Hitler said, "I don't want Africa, I don't think I really want colonies in Africa. They are too inconveniently situated, but if I conquer Europe I shall undoubtedly have all America to colonize." To which I said, "Don't you think you will find that difficult?" He replied, "O, no, I don't think America will ever fight until it is too late."

Hitler once said to me when I suggested that all Europe would unite against him, "O, no, each country will imagine it is the only one to escape, and they will wait to fight until it is too late."

Of course, it sounds absurd to us, west of the Atlantic, that Hitler should ever dream of world dominion. You must remember this, he already has enormous organizations in the United States. I have seen many of them, and with all my respect for the States, and my immense admiration for the people of the United States, I think the most complete, the most solid organizations there are German Bunds. I was amazed at their force and power and their connection with Europe. Do you think it is so hard to imagine, if Europe really were defeated in the struggle, that instead of democratic ideals here there would be a flood of German ideology, and of German trade? Of course, after all, it was your ancestors who brought democratic ideals from Europe because they had a solid democracy behind them. What happens if there is a Nazi or a Soviet tyranny all over Europe? Of course the ideas of the whole American Continent would have to change in keeping with the vast change that would have swept over Europe.

That, I think, is one of the great dangers. Whatever happens to the democracies after the war, whatever path we choose to follow, I am sure we must fight now for our system of living.

Stalin, of course, is an entirely different proposition to Hitler. He has told me again and again, "I am not a dictator. I am not interested in Russia only, I am interested in the working world." He said to me once, "You must learn to distinguish between what is Communist and what is Slavonic. Nothing in Russia is permanent or secure today. I am working for the future, for generations hence. If in a hundred years we have discovered the model for future civilization, then I shall be content," and I think that is the whole basis of Stalin's organization. I once asked him if Russia would ever make another war of aggression. He said, "No, it is not the business of the Soviet to make a war for any capitalist country's selfish purpose, but it is our business to watch events all over the world and to interfere, if possible, either on behalf of the worker or to solidly establish our own position."

Now, it may be hard to believe but Stalin, together with others of his great leaders, suffers from a persecution complex. All have said some such thing as this: "The only thing that would ever unite America and the great countries of Europe would be invasion of the Soviet."

There is one thing that is very interesting. The whole of the Russian military system is based on defence. They are not prepared for war of aggression. That is perhaps why they started so badly against Finland. All their airdromes were far inland and their final system of defence is based on the Urals, that means on the borders of Siberia, so you see how far the Soviet leaders imagined they might have to retire before a war of aggression.

Stalin once put the subject more amusingly when he said, "Between Siberia and the Caucasus we can grow everything except cocoa. Do you think a great nation is going to war to change the national drink from tea to cocoa?"

I discussed the possibility of a European war. He said, "It is absurd of the British to say that the era of colonization is over because they have all the land they want. Inevitably, Germany will colonize Europe. It is equally inevitable that Asia will be Sovietized, and the only system that will benefit will be the Soviet." I said, "Why?" He made a very sensible answer: "No other country is large enough or sufficiently resilient enough to be able to stand years and years of another frightful war. We, the Soviet Republics are so vast we could fight year after year a war of defence without eighty per cent of our population being disturbed at all, so we have lots of resilience, lots of recuperative powers left to recover from such a war."

I asked Stalin who he thought would make the next war in Europe. He said, "If Germany chooses the moment when the next war will commence, it will be indescribably fearful and quick, because Germany never goes to war until she sees victory is certain. If you, the British, succeed in choosing the moment, it will be much longer because you are the only people who go to war thoroughly unprepared." That night I happened to be dancing with the Commissar for War, Voroshilov, and he, commenting on events said, "After all, by the time you British are prepared for war, it is quite wasted because you have already won the war."

I don't suggest that Russia, or in any case, Stalin did not regard the war as a war of aggression. Stalin probably thought that he was successfully following Hitler's horrible habit of picking up another little defenceless country we had left lying about. But I am sure the defence put up really brought the surprise of Stalin's life.

Stalin did say a vital thing, concerning us. He said, "I am oil-minded. I realize that the distances in Russia are so vast that they are only overcome with oil. Now, we can produce a very high grade of oil at Baku that is exceedingly suitable for aeroplanes. We have not the crude oil for trucking plants. If I find we cannot produce the harsher oils in Baku that are necessary for land transports, then, naturally, I shall be interested in your oil wells in Persia."

Now, you know it is not a very easily defended road across the Elburz hills to the mighty oil wells of Southern Persia, and if Stalin, as I read in the Canadian papers, really dreams of an eastern march, perhaps it is not India, so well defended, so admirably defended by the mountains of Hindu Kush, or the sea of salt, but his object is the oil fields of southwestern Russia which would be easier to reach.

Now, I am sure you are all interested today in Mussolini. I find Mussolini the most difficult of the Dictators to talk about. I met him in 1920, when I was a girl and he was an Editor in Milan, and it is my proud privilege to affirm that Mussolini interviewed me when he was the Editor of *Il popolo d'Italia.* In those days he asked me what I most wanted to do with my life. In those days being very young, under twenty, I said, "I want to live dangerously." He said, "What a fool idea. I want to live alone."

I think there is the keynote of this very great man, and at once his strength and his weakness. Because he wanted to live alone he has kept Italy out of many inconvenient foreign alliances, but at the same time he hasn't listened enough to foreign ministers and ambassadors who could have put the foreign point of view before him far more effectively than Count Ciano.

I saw Mussolini next in 1929. He asked me to go to tea. He has a brilliant memory. He remembered everything that he and I had talked about nine years previously. He is also the only one of the Dictators who asks intelligent questions and then listens to the answers. I can't remember Hitler ever having asked a question at all. He once said, "Of course I shall make mistakes with regard to other countries. I don't know other countries. I have never travelled. But I shall never make mistakes with regard to my own Germany." You see, he thinks he is a Messiah. His first thought is that he has a mission to restore the greatness of Germany in Europe. Now he has a mission to establish Germany as a dominating power in the world.

Stalin, on the other hand, asked very intelligent questions. He asked about labour in Canada, and the hours of work and I took a great deal of trouble to tell the truth. He said, "That is a flat lie. I know all the workers are starving and there will be a revolution in all the main towns of the capitalist countries." So, you see there is no use trying to tell the truth to Soviet Dictators—they don't believe me.

Mussolini did ask questions last July. When I saw him I thought that he had made one mistake. He believed that France was finished. He said, "I can't think why you British have such faith in France." I asked him who had told him that France was finished. He said that his son-in-law, Count Ciano, was his informant. You know, Count Ciano has always detested the French because he was such a great failure with the hostesses of France. Mussolini hasn't travelled and he hasn't listened to men of eminence who could give him more accurate information. He doesn't realize that the statements made by Count Ciano are inspired by such petty emotions as his jealousy because the hostesses of Paris didn't like him, and so he deprecated France to his great father-in-law.

While we are on the subject I quoted Hitler. I said, "Do you realize that a week ago in Berlin, Hitler said that no Frenchman will ever spend a penny in time of peace to save his country, but every Frenchman is willing to die any number of the most horrible deaths to defend his country in time of war."

Between Mussolini and Hitler there is a very sincere friendship and admiration. Hitler once said, "There is nothing to choose between Italian and Rumanian soldiers—they are both equally bad—but I have a great admiration for Mussolini, because with poor material he has succeeded in doing very good work."

Mossolini, of course, knows his own people very well. He knows their limitations , as well as their genius. In his autobiography he wrote, and indeed he repeated to me, "I have always hoped to make my own life a masterpiece.

That I shall never be able to do because everything I achieve falls so far short of my dreams." I disagreed with him. I think he has achieved his masterpiece by keeping his recreated country out of a war in which he would be only a tool of Germany. I think that Mussolini has proved himself a great statesman, as well as a genius, by realizing that his people are not the type of race that must be mass-driven into an unpopular war.

I have been asked very often since I came to Canada, "What are the feelings of the ordinary Italian people about war?" Do you know, it is very difficult in Russia or Germany to find ordinary people today. The ordinary, intelligent men, the individual mind, like yours, have ceased to exist entirely under the pressure of the prevailing ideologies in those countries. In Italy, it does exist. I think this is a true answer. I believe the Italian Government are not certain we are not going to win and therefor they propose, quite rightly, from the point of view of Italy, to watch events until there is proof of what side they are likely to get the best perquisites and pickings on.

On the other side, there is the Fascist dislike of England because of the sanctions we applied with regard to Abyssinia. Go further still and you find the ordinary Italian population not entirely Fascist. In the north, they are very Anti-Fascist. There is devotion there to the House of Savoy, rather than to Mussolini. Those ordinary people consistently hope that England will win. They haven't forgotten the days of Garibaldi, when my own grandfather, and probably some of yours, fought on behalf of Italy, and they think of us as natural allies, culturally and militarily.

Count Grandi, Minister of Justice, until a few months ago Italian Ambassador in London, wrote me only a few weeks ago, and he said, "The war has ceased to be a military effort. It has become an intellectual conundrum, the answer to which may be any combination of nations, but," he added, "among the ordinary Italian people you will always find a great deal of affection for the British race."

Now, in conclusion, for sixty seconds, I would like to say something about Canada. We have talked about Russia and Germany and Italy. If you want the three men summed up for you, I would suggest Mussolini is a genius and a statesman, whose greatest ambition he gave in his own words, "I want to colonize. I am tremendously a Roman and I would like to reestablish the Roman map of the Mediterranean."

Hitler is a genius. Like all geniuses, he is probably very unbalanced, but he is in no way insane, nor on the border of insanity. But he is no statesman and he is profoundly ignorant, psychologically ignorant of points of view or character of all other nations, although I do believe he respects the British powers of fighting.

Stalin is neither a genius nor a statesman. As a disciple of Lenin he has attempted to implement the ideals of socialism left by Marx by methods which are unsocial and completely inhuman.

Now, with regard to Canada. You insist in all your papers on bewildering admiring travellers like myself. I have just had a 48-hour journey from—where?—from Regina. (I never know where I am, I go so fast.) I don't know Canada. I have merely been a very grateful and admiring guest for six weeks. I have been very touched by the generosity with which Canadians have listened to me. Obviously, in half an hour I cannot give correct, logical studies of the great men of Europe, and you must accept this impression of Canada as an impression and no more.

Travelling aross Canada on your trains—and I was very tired, I can't sleep on your trains, I do think your brakes are very bad—I was thinking about this war, why you fought it. These are my own impressions, as a very young woman. I have talked to many people—Tory, Liberal or Socialist—and I am generally what the other person isn't, in order to encourage an argument. I know England is fighting because of her pledged word to Poland, because the German bully is at the gate and because she realizes very sensibly—we are a sensible people at the bottom—that Hitler won't keep any promises he makes;

and, finally, because the quite ordinary Englishmen in the streets has said, "My God, I can't stand this uncertainty any more. We will have to put an end to these crises. We have got to have a decent life for our children. We want them to have a bit more security than we have had ourselves. This is hell. It isn't a crusade, it isn't an adventure, it is a job we have to go through." That is why England is fighting.

I thought this over on the train. You, in Canada, are not as directly menaced, although I believe you might, if Britain were defeated, be faced by an alliance between Japan, Russia and Germany, the three countries to which the British Empire is an uncompromising obstacle, still you are far away and you are only indirectly menaced.

In the middle west, farmers who started life at $10.00 a month, riding the boundaries on the big cattle ranches, now have the west cleared up after ten years of struggle and have up to eight hundred acres of land, such men out of such years of struggle said this sort of thing to me, "I fought four years myself. I am a bit crippled up this time but I have sent my son over. Yes, he went as a pilot. Yes, the only one I have got. Wish you would look him up in England." When they have said things like that it has seemed that Canada is fighting for something even better than us—for an idea of chivalry.

It seems to me also when I have heard this song, "O, Canada, the true North, strong and free", sung over and over again at mass meetings right across your Continent and back again, at which I have had the privilege of speaking, it has seemed just then that you are fighting with a blazing faith of a free people who will not in your minds admit that any other nation should be by force less free than you are yourselves, and that has comforted me, personally—just me, Rosita Forbes—because I have thought, even if England goes down, our so little, so vulnerable island, if she went down—of course, after the manner of the Royal Navy, firing gun for gun while men are alive to work them—if we did go down, I think the Empire would be safe in your charge, and whatever you like to say about it politically in your papers, I believe our

Allies, with your help, would be sure of eventual victory, whatever happens to us in England.

(Applause—prolonged.)

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry that time will not permit Miss Rosita Forbes to tell of the other dictators and high personages that she has met. Seldom have we the opportunity of listening to such an excellent address from so vital a personage, a lady who in so short a time has accomplished so much in exploration and travel in strange countries and in social conversation, and I am using "social conversation" advisedly, with men who are outsanding in the world's history today; notwithstanding the perils of travel and the hazards attending these journeys.

The interesting and vivid accounts of such conversations are of the utmost importance in the understanding of the objectives of these men who are controlling and directing the aims and policies of such a large proportion of this world, and who are causing such tremendous chaos in world affairs today.

Canada much appreciates the contribution that Miss Rosita Forbes is making toward the war effort in her lecture tour across Canada for the National Council of Education, and I am sure you will all be pleased to know that she will speak again this evening at Convocation Hall, when she will have a little longer time to discuss those personages whom she has discussed today. I am sure we have all been very much interested in hearing her today and it has been a privilege and an honour to extend, on behalf of the Empire Club, our sincere appreciation and thanks for such a marvellous address. (Applause)

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: This meeting has been chosen by the Executive, in accordance with the Constitution, to select a Committee to nominate the Officers for the ensuing year, and I will be very pleased at this time to receive nominations for the Committee to choose the Officers for the coming year.

MR. R. M. HARCOURT: I beg to move that the following Members be appointed to form a Nominating Committee of the Empire Club of Canada for the coming Club Year, of 1940-41:

Robert Fleming
C. R. Sanderson
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
A. Ross Robertson
Horace Harpham
R. A. Stapells
Frank Pullen
W. Eason Humphreys
The President and Honorary Secretary-Treasurer to be Members *ex-officio* of the Committee.

MR. J. G. SINGER: I will second the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the resolution, Gentlemen. Are there any other nominations? If not, I declare this Nominating Committee appointed to bring in nominations for the Officers for the ensuing year.

The meeting is adjourned.

"THE EASTERN ARCTIC PATROL"

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR DAVID L. McKEAND

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, March 14, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to welcome as our guest-speaker such a distinguished Canadian as Major David L. McKeand, who not only gave service to his country during the South African War, but also during the first Great War.

Major McKeand has taken an active interest in sports, being at one time with the Hamilton "Tigers", and subsequently elected President of the Canadian Rugby Football Union.

For the past twenty years he has been familiar with the history and romance of the Arctic, through administering and patrolling the tremendous territory in the Canadian north, known as the Eastern Arctic and the Northwest Territories.

Major McKeand's official titles are: Superintendent of the Eastern Arctic; Secretary of the Northwest Territories Council; Officer in Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol; Government Representative in the Arctic Archipelago.

I take much pleasure in introducing Major McKeand, whose subject is "The Eastern Arctic Patrol". (Applause)

MAJOR DAVID L. McKEAND: Well, Mr. President, Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada, it is indeed a distinct pleasure and honour for one in the public service to come here on such a day as this. As you know, shorn of all the titles which your President has so kindly given to you, I am simply a public servant. I am a Civil Servant in Ottawa. I am fully conscious of the great privilege it is to be serving Canada. I am happy in my job. I am proud of my associations and I am certainly conscious of the fact that as a responsible government employee, the Minister of Mines and Resources is the man who announces the policy of the Government and we in the public service simply carry out his instructions.

Now, the subject today is "The Eastern Arctic Patrol". Have you ever listened to Neighbourly News on Sunday mornings at ten and heard Andy Clark comment on editorials and news items from the Mount Forest *Confederate*, Port Dover *Maple Leaf*, Wiarton *Canadian Echo* and other weeklies published in Ontario, well known to most of us?

Or, have you ever listened to the C.B.C. special broadcast on Christmas Eve? Heard fathers, mothers, young men and women speaking from local stations to relatives and friends in places beyond the ordinary means of communication?

Have you ever tuned in on the Northern Messenger, Friday nights at 11.30? Heard messages read to listeners hundreds of miles away in places north, east and west of here but within the Dominion of Canada or Labrador? We know a few of these places. Others sound familiar but most of them are beyond our ken. You may be surprised to learn of place names in Arctic Canada that were known to Queen Elizabeth and appeared on maps of America before the Ottawa River was heard of or Lake Ontario seen by a white man.

How many of us can off-hand locate on the map of Canada such geographic features as Frobisher Bay? Cape Wolstenholme? King William Island? Cambridge Bay? Craig Harbour? Fort Ross or Arctic Bay?

Well, where are these places? With the exception of Cape Wolstenholme, they are within the Arctic Archipelago and appear on the latest map of the Northwest Territories.

The other night I heard the producer of "Canadian Snapshots" announce that teachers found the C.B.C. programmes very helpful in teaching geography. Before radios became popular, Bud Fisher, the famous cartoonist, drew a comic strip of a school-master asking his geography class, "Where is Montreal?" The smart boy answered, "Right between Pittsburgh and St. Louis." The school-master asked him, "Where did you get that answer?", and the boy replied, "From our radio". (He had been turning the dials.)

How many of us turn our radio dials to stations we cannot locate on the map? When we broadcast over the C.B.C. and National networks from the *Nascopie* at Fort Ross on the 3rd of September, 1937, a U.S. coast-guardsman off Long Island heard us. He short-waved back that our signals were clear and strong and asked, "Where in Heaven's name are you?" Fort Ross was unknown then but now plays an important role in the administration of the Territories.

Sometimes I am asked, "Do you ever run across so-and-so in the North?" Usually the name is unfamiliar and I am told, "He is somewhere in the Northwest Territories." After further questioning I find he is in Northern Ontario or some other Province or in Yukon Territory—anywhere in Canada but the Northwest Territories.

Any reference to the Northwest Territories usually brings to mind a picture of a bleak barren country with a midnight sun in summer and northern lights in winter, inhabited by Eskimos and overrun with polar bears, white foxes and Arctic owls. Most people are surprised to hear that Charlton island, a beaver sanctuary, 80 miles from Moosonee and only 500 miles north of Toronto is in the Northwest Territories.

Now, what are the Northwest Territories? Well, they embrace all the mainland of Canada lying north of the four Western Provinces and east of Yukon Territory; all the islands in Hudson and James Bays, and in Hudson Strait and all the islands comprising the immense Canadian Arctic Archipeligo. For purposes of organization and administration the Territories are divided into three districts—Mackenzie, Keewatin and Franklin. Generally speaking, the Mackenzie District lies north of Albert and Saskatchewan; Keewatin, north of Manitoba and Franklin comprises Canada's Arctic Islands. The land and water area total 1,309,682 square miles, a little over 35 per cent of the total area of Canada.

The Northwest Territories Act provides for a Territorial Government composed of the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner and five Councillors appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The Commissioner in Council has power to make ordinances for the Government of the Territories under instructions from the Governor-General in Council or the Minister of Mines and Resources, respecting direct taxation within the Territories in order to raise revenue, etc., municipal institutions, licenses, solemnization of marriages, property and civil rights, administration of justice and generally all matters of a local or private nature in the Territories. The seat of Government is in Ottawa.

The Administration of the various Acts, Ordinances and Regulation is supervised by the Director of Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Mines and Resources. The Director, who is also Deputy Commissioner of the Territories, has his office in Ottawa.

The enforcement of law and order is the responsibility of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and detachments have been established at strategic points throughout the Territories. By means of extensive patrols by water, land and air, reasonably close check is kept on a very large region by a comparatively small body of men.

Now, who lives there? First, the aborigines. These are certain tribes of North American Indians and a nomadic race called Eskimos. Eskimos are found from the Siberian Coast of Labrador and Greenland. The Indians are a tribal race who confine their settlements to the inland wooded regions. On the other hand Eskimos are not tribal, have no settlements and are found beyond the timber in widely scattered families along the shores of Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay, on the Arctic coast and on many Arctic islands. Both Eskimos and Indians are said to be offshoots from the Mongolian peoples of Eastern Asia; the northern Indians probably followed the Eskimos into America but this must have happened at least 2,000 years ago, so long ago that they retain no recollection of their early Asiatic home. By a recent decision of the Supreme

Court of Canada, the word "Indian" in the British North America Act embraces both Indians and Eskimos.

Second, there are the white people who arrived in the following order: Fur traders, missionaries, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, doctors, nurses, miners and explorers interested in scientific investigation.

The Eskimo and Indian population is slowly increasing. There are approximately 6,500 Eskimos and 6,000 Indians in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec and the white population is under 3,000.

Now, how do these people live? Eskimos depend almost entirely on sea and land mamals for food and clothing, Indians on game and fish and white people import practically all they require for food, shelter, clothing and fuel.

The fur trade is the oldest and still is the chief industry. In the interests of wild life and the welfare of the native population, over 600,000 square miles have been reserved as sanctuaries or as exclusive hunting grounds for the resident Indians, Eskimos, and half-breeds. Buffalo and musk-oxen are protected the year around; caribou and game birds may be taken in the open season and in 1935 a herd of Alaskan reindeer was imported to augment the supply of wild life available as a source of food and clothing for the natives. Hunting and trapping licenses are issued only to white British subjects who have completed four years' residence in the Territories and held a license on the 1st of May, 1938. In view of these restrictions no one should attempt to enter the Territories expecting to support himself even partially by living off the country.

There are natural fluctuations in the numbers of the various forms of wild life, the causes of which are being carefully studied. Over-trapping is corrected by shortening the open seasons or, if necessary, closing the seasons completely. Other measures taken for the conservation of game include prohibiting the use of poison and regulating the use of aircraft by white trappers.

No person may establish a trading post unless he holds a permit from the Commissioner of the Territories. Permits are granted for locations that seem necessary in the interests of the resident population and with due regard to the conservation of wild life. A trader must operate a trading post for eight months in a license year and in this way the business of trading in game is virtually restricted to those permanent white residents in the Territories.

There are medical services and educational advantages. Medical Officers and nurses employed by the Department of Mines and Resources are stationed at Chesterfield and Pangnirtung in the Eastern Arctic and at other principal centres where hospitals and Industrial Homes are maintained by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions with the assistance of the Dominion Government. At all points where there are branches of these Missions, provision is made for the education of the native and white children. Medical Officers may be called upon to make extensive patrols by sledge and dog team but since the introduction of private commercial radio stations they remain near the hospitals. However, through these radio facilities white and native patients have been successfully treated although hundreds of miles away.

In addition to the scientific information obtained by the Government agencies, privately organized exploratory and scientific expeditions have gathered considerable data regarding the Arctic regions. Such expeditions are not discouraged by the Government provided satisfactory evidence is supplied that they are adequately financed and equipped and have the endorsation of some recognized scientific body. Permits to carry out exploratory and scientific work in the Territories are issued by the Commissioner in Ottawa.

Now, how do you get there? Well, there are five main routes. Each one is a story in itself. The surest way is by boat; the hardest by dog team; and the easiest by aircraft. Let me illustrate them this way: Looking at the back of your left hand, with thumb and fingers extended, let us suppose the little finger represents the western route. Take a ship from Vancouver to Skagway, rail to Whitehorse, sail down the Yukon River to the Arctic Circle, up the Porcupine and Bell Rivers to the heights of land, down the

Rat and Peel Rivers into the Mackenzie Delta and the Arctic Ocean. It is quite an extensive trip by water and land but may be covered in a few hops by plane.

The third or ring finger represents the next route. Rail from Edmonton to Waterways, boat down the Athabaska and Slave Rivers to Fitzgerald, 16-mile portage by motor car to Fort Smith, boat to Great Slave Lake and the gold mining area at Yellowknife, down the Mackenzie River, passing the mouth of Great Bear River, Fort Norman oil wells, hospitals and residential schools at Aklavik, and the Government Reindeer Station, to Port Brabant on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Regular air mail, passenger and express services are maintained over this route.

The second finger represents an all rail route from Winnipeg to Churchill on Hudson Bay. Aircraft can operate over this route also.

The index finger represents another all rail route from Toronto over the T. & N. O. Railway to Moosonee and the salt water of James Bay. You can fly over this route in a few hours.

The thumb represents the oldest, longest and most important route in Arctic and sub-Arctic Canada. As your thumb can touch the tips of all your fingers, so this route can be made to connect with the terminals of the other four routes mentioned. From Montreal by ship down the St. Lawrence through the Strait of Belle Isle to the Atlantic Ocean. Turn westward along the Labrador coast through Hudson Strait to Moosonee and Churchill, the terminals of the index and second finger routes.

The main route lies true north of Belle Isle through Davis and Baffin Bay which separate Greenland from Baffin Island to Lancaster Sound in latitude 73 degrees north. This is the entrance to the Northwest Passage.

The patrol connects at Fort Ross with a motor schooner from the Western Arctic and with the exchange of passengers, mail and freight, an all Canadian Northwest Passage is completed.

The Eastern Arctic Patrol covers the major part of this fifth and last route.

Now, what is the Eastern Arctic Patrol? The patrol is simply a government administrative unit in the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. Because of the area covered and its multifarious duties, the patrol attracts a certain amount of public attention.

Since the Deed of Surrender in 1870 and the transfer of the Arctic Islands of North America from Great Britain to the Dominion in 1880, a number of expeditions have been sent north by the Federal Government for the purposes of administration, exploration and scientific investigation. Up to 1910, these expeditions wintered in the north. From that year until after the war there was a comparative lull in government investigation in the Eastern Arctic although rather intensive studies were carried out by the Stefansson Expedition in 1914-18 in the Western Arctic. The development of the oil fields in the Mackenzie District and the increasing interest in mining activity, necessitated a more intensive administration of the Territories. A Government office was established at Fort Smith in 1921 to take care of the Mackenzie district development and the next year the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol was inaugurated to supervise the administration of the Arctic Archipelago.

For some years Government-owned or chartered vessels were used for Arctic work, but in 1932 the Hudson's Bay Company made a very attractive offer for the Government business in the Eastern Arctic. Since 1933, the Royal Mail Ship *Nascopie,* owned and operated by the Hudson's Bay Company, has been used to carry Government officials, mail and supplies from Montreal to the farthest north Government post on Ellesmere Island, as far west as Fort Ross in the Northwest Passage and to return to Halifax before freeze-up.

The *Nascopie* was designed and built for Arctic work at Newcastle-on-the-Tyne and launched in 1912. Her dimensions are: length, 285 feet; beam, 43 feet; mean draft, 24 feet; gross tonnage, 2,521; net tonnage, 1,503; single screw engines, developing 2,300 h.p., maximum speed, 13 knots; licensed for 50 passengers and a crew of 52.

Leaving Montreal the cargo includes a year's supplies of food and fuel for Medical Officers, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, radio operators, fur traders, Missionaries and trade goods for Eskimos. The decks are covered with gasoline and oil drums, large and small boats, lumber and other materials which cannot be stowed below. About 1,500 tons of bunkers are required for the voyage.

The passenger accommodation consists of staterooms between decks, with two and four berths. The one saloon on the main deck seats 23 and serves as a dining-room, smoke-room, lounge and music-room.

Now, who are the passengers? First, the Government party numbering about 20 and composed of Administration Officers, Postmaster, Stipendiary Magistrate, lawyers, doctors, Police, scientists artists and photographers and representatives of the Press. The doctor and police will relieve those completing two or three years' service in the North. There are Hudson's Bay Company officials returning from furlough or entering their first five-year term of service, Missionaries bound for isolated posts or service in the hospitals, prospective brides and a few tourists from the provinces and the United States.

The *Nascopie* sails from Montreal in July, frequently on the hottest day in the year. The Press describes the sailing as the most colourful of any from Montreal. There is the usual crowd on the dock: relatives and friends from far and near to say "bon voyage" and wave farewell, parents taking leave of children and children of parents; fair admirers whispering tender good-byes to a Mountie or a young fur trader, friends wishing joy and happiness to prospective brides; good neighbours and well-wishers from the United States. The sailing of the patrol is very different to what it was 35 years ago, when A. P. Low, Commander of the Arctic Expedition sailed on the *Neptune* for Hudson Bay. Here is what Stephen Leacock had to say about the sailing at that time:

While we welter
In the swelter
Of the Pestilential Heat

Drinking Sodas
In Pagodas
At the corner of the street,
It seems to me
That it would be
My highest aspiration
To sail away
On a holiday
Of Arctic Exploration.

Let me lie in my pajamas on the ice
Of Baffin's Bay,
In the thinnest of chemises, where the
Polar breezes play,
Underneath a frozen awning let me
Lie at ease a span,
While beneath the bright Aurora
Roars the ventilation fan.

Can you wonder now that Nansen, and
That Peary and that Low
Should wander forth,
And struggle north,
As far as they can go?
When the hero
Under zero
Lives on frozen lager beer
And a demi-can
Of Pemmican,
You need not shed a tear.
He seeks a higher latitude,
I quite admit the feat;
The reason is a platitude,
He's crazy with the heat.

A brief description of the route and the different ports of call may be of interest. Sailing down the St. Lawrence, pilots are exchanged at Quebec about midnight. At noon next day, the pilot is dropped at Father Point and for the remained of the voyage the Captain is on his own, without the usual aids to navigation, sailing through uncharted waters—often in ice fields, infested with icebergs, with the usual gales and snow and fog to add to his troubles. Churchill is the only harbour, and there are but two or three safe anchorages in the ten thousand seven hundred mile voyage. Yet, the passengers, a year's mail, and a season's supply of food, fuel and clothing, must be safely landed and valuable furs, porpoise hides, whale oil and other country produce taken aboard at twenty-two ports of call.

Turning westward from Belle Isle the patrol meets the Arctic Current, icebergs are seen for the first time and the temperature drops to almost freezing point. Cartwright was the first call until 1936. It was here the patrol saw Balbo and twenty-four planes arrive from Iceland on the 12th of July, 1933, and take off next morning for Shediac, New Brunswick, en route to Chicago. The Right Reverend Bishop Fleming was there at the time.

The first call is now Hebron, about one thousand four hundred miles from Montreal. It was here the Moravians opened a mission and built a church over one hundred years ago. An Eskimo brass band plays the *Nascopie* to the anchorage. Supplies for Ungava Bay are transferred to the *Fort Garry,* a power schooner plying between St. John's and Labrador settlements.

After a brief call at Port Burwell at the south-east entrance to Hudson Strait for exchange of passengers and mail for Ungava Bay posts, the ship crosses to Baffin Island. Off the entrance to Lake Harbour an Eskimo pilot and family are taken aboard. Lake Harbour nestles among the highlands of Southern Baffin Island at the north end of an estuary ten miles long. It was formerly a rendezvous for whalers and is one of the safest anchorages to be found in the Eastern Arctic. There is a Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment, Hudson's Bay Company trading post, opened in 1911, and an Anglican Mission. Sports are arranged for the Eskimos between tides and handling of cargo. Mail from Pangnirtung and Frobisher Bay brought down during the winter by the Police patrol is collected by the postal representative for despatch via Churhill.

The next calls are Wakeham Bay and Sugluk in Northern Quebec, the former, a one-time base for aircraft with the Hudson Strait Expedition, 1927-28. Cape Dorset, on Baffin Island, at the westerly end of Hudson Strait is where the Honourable John Buchan, now Lord Tweedsmuir, helped to build the post manager's residence and spent a year among the Eskimos, travelling by boat and dog sled, along the coast of Southern Baffin Island. Cape Dorset was also the scene of a marriage between the leader of the British Arctic Expedition and a graduate nurse of the Royal Victoria Hospital. They are living happily on the west coast of Baffin Island, exploring and mapping the shores of Foxe Basin, the nesting ground of the blue goose.

Turning south, Cape Wolstenholme is easily distinguished from other highlands of northern Quebec. Anchor is dropped in Eric Cove where Hudson took on water in 1610. The government patrol ship *N. B. McLean* uses the same stream every summer. It was here that Mr. Ralph Parsons, Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, opened the first trading post on Hudson Strait on the 13th of August, 1909, almost 240 years after the Company was incorporated and opened its first post in James Bay.

Sailing southward, calls are made at Cape Smith and Port Harrison on the east coast of Hudson Bay. Up to 1935 the *Nascopie* continued south to Charlton Island passing the Belcher Islands made famous by Bob Flaherty, producer of that popular movie, "Nanook of the North". Charlton Island is about eighty miles from Moosonee and for many years the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company district manager. Ships from England brought supplies annually and returned with a fortune in furs.

The Medical Officer of the Indian Affairs branch also looks after the Eskimos in this area and, therefore, it is unnecessary for the patrol to visit James Bay.

From Port Harrison the patrol sails due west for Churchill, five hundred and thirty-six miles across Hudson Bay to connect with the weekly train from Winnipeg. On the 6th of August last year His Excellency the late Lord Tweedsmuir was on the dock when the *Nascopie* arrived.

For a few days everyone is busy. Mail has been accumulating and must be answered. An excursion arrives by train from points as far south as Minneapolis and as far west as Calgary bringing passengers to take the places of those who have come from Montreal. Visits are made to Fort Prince of Wales and Sloop Cove as well as to other Historic sites. In 1937 H.M.S. *Scarborough* paid a visit to Churchill and was the first war ship to enter the harbour in 155 years. Fresh eggs, fruits and vegetables and other supplies are taken aboard for delivery at northern posts.

Sailing north from Churchill, the patrol arrives at Chesterfield on the west coast of Hudson Bay. This is the largest and most important settlement in Keewatin District. In 1890 Mr. J. W. Tyrrell ascended Chesterfield Inlet and followed the inland water route to Fort Reliance at the easterly end of Great Slave Lake.

The Roman Catholic Mission operate a 30-bed hospital and industrial home. Aeroplanes were operated around Chesterfield in 1928 and Father Schulte, "the Flying Priest" completed a mercy flight of two thousand two hundred miles to Arctic Bay and return in 1938. The Roman Catholic Mission celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1937.

Supplies are transferred to the Motor Schooner, *Fort Severn* for delivery to Baker Lake, Eskimo Point and other government, fur trading and missionary posts in the Keewatin District.

The patrol then sails eastward, clearing Hudson Strait before turning north. Up the east coast of Baffin Island the Arctic Current, flowing south, brings hundreds of icebergs of various shapes and sizes. The Arctic Circle is crossed with the usual ceremony. With varying weather and ice conditions, the *Nascopie* drops anchor at Craig Harbour, eight hundred and thirty miles from the North Pole, the farthest north post office in the Empire. Photographs of Their Majesties, autographed last year, hang on the walls of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Barracks.

If there is no work farther north or in Greenland, the *Nascopie* turns south passing Cape Sparbo on the north coast of Devon Island, where a large herd of musk-ox may be seen on a clear day. Passing through Lancaster Sound and turning south through Prince Regent Inlet, anchor is dropped at Fort Ross on Somerset Island. Eighty miles to the south is the site of the North Magnetic Pole. A two-way wireless conversation was successfully held with Ottawa in 1937.

After the exchange of passengers, mail and freight, the *Nascopie* commences the homeward leg of the voyage. Again turning north a call is made at Arctic Bay. Arctic Bay is about seventeen hundred miles north of White River, Ontario. In 1936 the Hudson's Bay Company built a modern insulated frame residence there for the Post Manager. The fuel consumption is only five and one-half to six tons of Welsh anthracite for heating and cooking throughout the year.

While the *Nascopie* was at anchor, Bishop Fleming married two white persons on the 29th August, 1938: a baby girl was born to this couple on the 6th July following and she was baptized on the 4th September last.

The *Nascopie* was lying at anchor at Arctic Bay on the 3rd September last and over the radio come word that Canada was at war. His Majesty's speech, also those of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Mackenzie King, were heard on the Empire Broadcast from London. An hour or so later, Mr. William J. G. Ford of the Hudson's Bay Company volunteered his services to the Officer in Charge of the patrol and said he was willing to serve in any theatre of war. Mr. Ford with his brother and cousin, also in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, together with Mr. Patrick Baird, a Cambridge graduate returning after a year's scientific investigation in the north, came to Halifax on the *Nascopie*. They went to Toronto to enlist in the 48th Highlanders but unfortunately for them the regiment was up to strength. They tried the Black Watch in Montreal without success. Mr. Baird came to Ottawa and interviewed the Officer Commanding the Cameron Highlanders. Finally, all four enlisted in the Royal Canadian Artillery in Montreal. Another Cambridge graduate with Arctic experience—Graham Rowley—enlisted in the Corps Petrol Park. They sailed with the First Division for England in November. The Arctic Islands of Canada as well as other parts of the Empire are represented in the present conflict.

Rounding Bylot Island, the *Nascopie* enters Pond Inlet, named for John Pond, the Astronomer Royal. Heading southward, the towering glaciated cliffs of Baffin Island stand out in bold relief. A brief call is made at River Clyde where young Ford's father is post manager for the Hudson's Bay Company. If you have listened to the Northern Messenger recently you heard a message written by his son in Aldershot brought across the Atlantic by the Canadian Postal Service and broadcast by the C.B.C. from Toronto. All his friends in the Arctic, as well as his father, would hear this message.

Rounding Cape Mercy the *Nascopie* enters Cumberland Sound and drops anchor at Pangnirtung, the largest settlement in the Eastern Arctic.

Pangnirtung Settlement is on a broad sloping, moss-covered plain bordering on a fiord of the same name that runs thirty miles north easterly from Cumberland Sound—in Eskimo it means "the two-year-old deer". The fiord is the show place of the Eastern Arctic and defies description. The scenery is said to surpass the fiords of Norway.

Scotch, Norwegian and American whalers operated in Cumberland Sound until the whales disappeared. In 1921 the Hudson's Bay Company opened a trading post; two years later the R.C.M.P. erected their barracks and in 1926 the Government appointed a resident Medical Officer. In 1930 the Anglican Mission opened a 16-bed hospital, heated by oil fuel, lit by electricity, equipped with X-ray, and with medical, surgical and infants wards. The buildings have been enlarged to accommodate aged, crippled and blind Eskimos. In 1939 a golf course was laid out and the Doctor is the proud possessor of the late Hon. Martin Burrell's clubs. Toronto has a special interest in Pangnirtung because the Doctor, his wife and three children, the matron and the nursing staff are well known to many in this city.

Leaving Pangnirtung, a brief call may be made at Port Burwell or Hebron before shaping a course for home.

It is about 80 days since leaving Ottawa and about 12,000 miles were covered—almost halfway round the world. We have seen the Eskimo in his own country—mountains, glaciers, icebergs, polar bears, walrus, seals and whales—countless waterfowl and mosquitoes—good and bad weather—done our job—without any fuss or serious accident—left everyone in good humour.

In his native surroundings the Eskimo is a happy and contented citizen of the Dominion. Life in the north is hard, but to the energetic and resourceful, nature turns a kindly smile. Civilization has brought many new wonders to the native. Wireless communication and the radio have relieved the monotony of the long winter vigil for those whose duty takes them to the Arctic Islands. Through the work of the Northwest Territories Administration, in co-operation with other Federal Departments, the health and well-being of the Eskimo are protected—the wild life on which they depend for the main necessities of life is conserved. The mineral and other resources are investigated. Our knowledge of Canada's great northern heritage is broadened and its future is assured. Now, then, if Canada is worth fighting for, surely Canada is worth while working for.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Major McKeand, Honoured Guests and Gentlemen: I would like to refer at this point to the honour done us today in having with us Archbishop Owen, Primate of all Canada, Bishop Renison and Bishop Fleming, who have all been in the Arctic and are familiar with the scenes portrayed by our guest-speaker today. We thank Major McKeand for a most interesting and illuminating talk on a part of Canada, as yet too little known to Canadians.

Major McKeand has referred to Lord Tweedsmuir's son, who spent some time in the Arctic. The late Lord Tweedsmuir was greatly impressed with and was very desirous of knowing Canada, and two years ago he spent a great deal of time in the north. Bishop Fleming has stated that he opened at Aklavik the hospital in that particular area. May I read what Lord Tweedsmuir has said about this area:

"I have seen a vision of a new world in the Arctic where winter is kindlier than on the plains, and summer, with its double allowance of sunshine, is both beautiful and bountiful. I can see this rich new world held together by the cheapest and safest air travel in existence, and I can visualize a happy, courageous people, ennobled and made unselfish and happy by contact with the clean antiseptic North."

I happened to meet Lord Tweedsmuir shortly after he came to Canada and one of the things he was most interested in was learning about those unknown parts of Canada. He stated at that time that he intended to visit personally those parts in order to learn more of their potentialities.

We are indeed indebted to Major McKeand, who has shown us the vast potentialities of this new world in the North, and on behalf of the members of the Empire Club, I thank him most sincerely for his visit to us today, and for giving us a most interesting and comprehensive address on this valuable and comparatively unknown territory of Canada. (Applause)

"THE ISSUES AT STAKE"

AN ADDRESS BY

HONOURABLE JAMES H. R. CROMWELL

Toronto, March 19, 1940

A Joint Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada and the Canadian Club of Toronto was held in the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada, on Tuesday, March 19, 1940.

Professor N. A. M. Mackenzie introduced the guest-speaker, the Honourable James H. R. Cromwell, United States Minister to Canada.

PROFESSOR N. A. M. MACKENZIE: Gentlemen: The Members of the Empire and Canadian Clubs meet today for two purposes. The first, to honour the country that our distinguished guest represents here in Canada. (Applause) I don't think I need to say how much we respect and admire the great country to the south of us. I believe, basically, that they stand for the same things and believe in the same ideals and as compared with the relations between other great and small countries, to wit, Finland and Russia, or Germany and Czechoslovakia, I think we can consider ourselves among the most fortunate peoples of the earth. (Applause)

The other reason is to do honour to our very distinguished guest, the American Minister to Canada. He has had a colourful and interesting career. In other circumstances, as in the case of other individuals, he might well have been content to have been a playboy and to have found his outlet in mere adventure and interesting living. In place of that he has entered into public life and into public affairs and is a student. I am not an economist and perhaps that is fortunate, because I understand that his books provoke as much or more discussion, and are as stimulating as anything that has been written for many a day. We, the Members of these two Clubs, are delighted to honour him today as our guest. We are happy that he and his charming wife have seen fit to come and make their home for a time among us. (Applause) And we would hope that, if it is his desire and our good fortune, that visit might be a long one. (Applause) He is to address us today on the subject, "The Issues at Stake". I have great pleasure in introducing His Excellency, the Honourable James H. R. Cromwell. (Applause)

HONOURABLE JAMES H. R. CROMWELL: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Canadan Club and the Empire Club of Canada, Distinguished Guests:

In addressing a gathering so representative of your great industrial and commercial metropolis, I am naturally conscious of the fact that I myself am the representative of the Government of your best customer. According to recent statistics our purchases from you last year amounted to some one hundred and fifty millions of dollars *more* than those of your second largest customer.

And you, in your turn, imported more from us than any other single entity. In fact, the trade between the United States and Canada outranks the commerce between any other two countries in the entire world.

The continuance and furtherance of this mutually profitable exchange of goods and services, however, is by no means the only responsibility of the mission of which I have the honour, at this moment, to be the head. And in this connection I cannot be unmindful—or rather, let me say, we are all of us mindful at home—of the fact that your country—as part of a great Empire—is now engaged in war with another Empire. An Empire equally powerful in the military sense, although possessed perhaps of rather less extensive material and human resources.

As Minister of the United States, I am pledged to a policy of neutrality. As you know, this policy has the active support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. But, gentlemen, that is no good reason why we should not face the facts and weigh the issues which confront us.

Considerable comment seems to have been evoked by a statement I made in Val d'Or ten days ago; to wit, that I believe the Allies were fighting for the perpetuation of individual liberty and freedom.

Perhaps comment was occasioned because the diplomatic representative of a neutral nation expressed an opinion concerning the war aims of a belligerent power. Perhaps some people were surprised because they feel that the utterances of a diplomat should be confined to platitudinous pleasantries.

Certainly that is the feeling of many of my countrymen —indeed of some of my very distinguished countrymen who, it would seem, believe the fulfilment of the handwriting on the wall can be avoided by pretending the handwriting is not there.

Well, my friends, that is not my idea of the functions of a diplomat. To me a diplomat is still a citizen. The duty of every citizen is to uphold and defend the institutions and the social and economic order upon which the government of his nation is founded. And, furthermore, when that diplomat-citizen, or rather, let me call him a sentry at an observation outpost—when that sentry sees approaching a force which frankly and openly seeks to destroy those aforesaid institutions and the social and economic order upon which the government of his nation is founded —then, it seems to me, it is the duty of that sentry to tell his fellow citizens what he sees.

And, gentlemen, let me assure you, that upon this interpretation of my duties as a diplomat I am content to risk my official head. If I be wrong then let the executioner be summoned and wield his axe. Head chopping is just an old family custom with the Cromwells anyhow.

But let me pause at this point, and digress for just a moment to express my appreciation to the gentlemen of the Canadian press, who took the trouble to telephone me at Val d'Or from Montreal and Toronto. Who took that trouble because they hold their profession so highly that they would not quote the Minister of the United States as having uttered such an apparently significant statement without direct confirmation.

They inquired if I had been correctly quoted. Let me say once again that I was correctly quoted. But why the surprise? Why was such a simple statement of opinion considered so significant?

Let me tell you why. It is because certain short-sighted and cynically minded groups in the United States today declare that there is in actual fact little to choose between one belligerent and another. Are they not, they ask, rival Empires engaged in an imperialistic war? Were they not founded upon the conquest of one people by another? And not for the first time, they say further, our foreign trade, our domestic peace and our well being, is directly and harmfully affected by this quarrel between two grasping and selfish imperialisms? So, they say, a plague upon both your houses!

How easy it is for unthinking people to proclaim that what happens in Europe is no concern of theirs and to pretend the dangers that threaten their future safety do not exist.

How easy it is to shut one's eyes and thus seek to avoid the horrid sight of the bloody and seething world revolution which threatens to overwhelm us all.

How easy to say that this war is a war of greed—a war fought merely for trade, for territory and for power, that the neutral democracies have no interest in its outcome, that there are no issues at stake which can affect them.

Yes, certainly, that is the comfortable and easy road to take. But is this attitude sound? In my opinion the facts will prove that it is not sound, that it is merely attempting to make a virue of expediency. So let us look at the recorded facts to determine, in truth, whether the neutral democracies of the world have an interest in the outcome of this war.

Now I am not interested and I do not propose to waste time arguing as to whether or not the respective belligerents are fighting a war of greed for trade, for territory and for power. That is a matter of individual opinion. What I *am* interested in, however, as a citizen of the world's greatest neutral democracy, is how the respective belligerents are going to satisfy this alleged greed once they have gained the power to do so.

Just what will the Policy of the Allies be if they win the war? I will not quote the statements issued by the leaders of the British Empire as to their ideals and aims and as to what they will or *would* like to do. If I did some of the numerous isolationists at home might accuse me of falling a victim to the so-called insidious propaganda of the Allies. I prefer, therefore, to base my judgment of what the British Empire will do in the future by what it has done in the past. And what is that record?

The history of this great Commonwealth, the history of the Dominion of Canada, is known to us all. Only recently we celebrated with mutual joy and thanksgiving the anniversary of a hundred years of peace between our countries. And in that time we have developed along parallel lines a civil organization and domestic institutions so similar as in some respects to be almost identical. This development on your part, was evolved within the framework of the British Empire.

Much the same can be said as to the other great self-governing Commonwealths; Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. In the latter country, the scars and ill feeling left by the bitterly fought Boer War were so healed that—in less than two decades—the armed forces of the state were in the field on behalf of the very Empire with which it had so recently been in conflict.

In short, I come to the conclusion from this lesson of history, that if the Allies win the war, they will conduct themselves in the future very much as they have in the past. So there is, in this eventuality, no threat to the well being, to the peace, or to the social and economic order of the neutral democracies, be they large or small.

And now, let us consider the outlook should the autocracies win the war. With your forbearance I shall quote at some length from an authenticated article on war aims, written by Otto D. Tolischus, correspondent of the New York *Times,* and published just a month ago. I quote:

"Taking the war aims as publicly proclaimed in the latest National Socialist pronouncements, they may be summarized as follows:

"(1) Complete elimination of British influence from the European continent by the destruction of British military and naval power, and, perhaps, the destruction of the British Empire itself.

"(2) Organization of a 'New Europe' under the decisive influence of Germans as the greatest people on the continent and on the basis of 'Socialism of nations', involving international 'socialistic planning', *which presupposes the creation of controlled national economies and therewith the establishment of authoritarian governments everywhere, which in turn means the end of democracy and the free economy on which democracy depends.*

"(3) World-wide extension of this system until there shall be destruction of the 'plutocracies' and 'international Jewish capitalism' based on free world trade and the monetary function of gold—and substitution of bilateral exchange of goods, based on managed 'labour currency', the domestic value of which would be determined by government fiat and wage and price control—and the international value by government clearing agreements.

"(4) Extension of the 'Lebensraum' (living room) of the German 'master race' in proportion to that now possessed by other conquering (races) such as the British, the French, the Americans and the Japanese."

But, gentlemen, what is happening where that Lebensraum is being extended—what is happening today in Austria, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland? What kind of rule is this master race, this conquering race, applying to the vanquished? Did the Austrians, the Czechoslovaks or the Poles have a voice in the determination of their present form of government? To what extent do they enjoy a free development of their social and economic aspirations?

For an answer to these questions let us turn to a comprehensive report recently submitted to the Pope by Cardinal Hlond of Poland, describing the actions of this conquering race in a part only of the occupied territories. The report is too long, and in parts too terrible, to read in its entirety, so I will quote only a small part of what the Cardinal has to say.

"Most of the Catholic dioceses of Poland, with more than 7,000,000 faithful, are destined to become a land of infidels.

"We cannot help but refer to this as one of the most serious enormities in all history, that is to say, the expulsion of a population of this large size. Nearly all the Polish nobility, especially all those that were landowners, tens of thousands of peasant families, tens of thousands of urban families and almost all the cultured class have been, by now, exiled to the Gouvernement General of Poland.

"The people lose everything, land, houses, farms, factories, furniture, cash, bank deposits, precious things, family jewels and even their clothes. All this is taken without pity for them and without a minimum of recompense. On the contrary, their money is even stolen from them and they can take with them only ten marks.

"Young men from the age of fourteen up are all to be deported to Germany and will probably go there to be forced to receive a Hitler education. Even girls—and especially the pretty ones—are deported and cause their families that desperation that is easy to understand.

"According to information in the German press the obligatory transfer of the Polish population of that region must be completed by April 3, 1940. Therefore the emigres arriving in the Gouvernement General will be millions—millions without money, without clothes, without the possibility of earning a living, millions condemned to the hardest privations from the lowest possible conditions of life to famine.

"This is a true extermination, conceived with diabolic evil and executed with a cruelty without equal."

And now gentlemen, permit me to give you another quotation, a quotation which bears with peculiar emphasis upon my Val d'Or statement. My statement, I mean, that I believe the Allies were fighting for the perpetuation of individual liberty and freedom.

Again I quote—

"The Germans openly proclaim themselves in their speeches to be the owners of the occupied territories and say that the Poles are their slaves."

All this is, mind you, from the formal report of Cardinal Hlond to His Holiness the Pope, upon conditions in the conquered districts of Poland. A report that has been formally issued by the Vatican itself and concerning which, so far as I know, no refutation has ever been attempted.

And now—having learned what sort of a social system will exist under autocracy, let us see what sort of an economic system a totalitarian victory would portend.

And again I repeat "*a system which presupposes the creation of controlled national economies and therewith the establishment of authoritarian governments everywhere, which in turn means the end of democracy and the free economy on which democracy depends.*"

Really, gentlemen, I am at a loss to understand how any intelligent citizen of any of the world's neutral democracies can state with conviction that he has no interest in the outcome of this war, or that there are no issues at stake which can affect him.

To me, it is only too apparent that the life, the liberty, the livelihood and the very safety of this same neutral citizen may be dependent upon the outcome of the present war. Whether he recognizes the fact or not, his future, and the future of his children's children, are, in all probability, now at stake.

As an economist, even more than as a diplomat, the present world struggle appears to me, not only as a clash between rival political concepts, but also as a clash between rival and totally different economic systems. Economic systems of which the forms of government are but the outward manifestations.

Do not let yourselves be deceived by the frequently proffered description of the democratic-capitalistic system as one which is old and outworn, ready for the scrap heap, and to be superseded by some autocratic ideology. For it is the latter which has misruled and misgoverned the world from time immemorial.

It was not until the Industrial Revolution took place early in the nineteenth century, that true democracy, on a broad basis of universal suffrage and individual freedom, as we conceive it on this continent, became possible.

To me, capitalism and democracy are as closely united as Siamese twins—one cannot live without the other. And I hold and maintain that individual freedom and liberty are directly responsible for the creation of those economic conditions upon which our well-being and progress depend now, and have depended in the past.

On the other hand, in practically every one of the totalitarian states, despite the utmost efforts of their all-powerful governments, one finds widespread scarcity of all the means of life in practically every social level, except in that of the governing officials themselves.

However, it is a cause of much tribulation that the very progress made possible by our free and enlightened institutions, and which has brought us so far on the road of betterment, has also brought grave problems with it. Our world has grown constantly and consistently smaller in proportion to the improvement in the means of communication. So much smaller, indeed, that it begins to appear doubtful if two such totally different systems of economy and government can exist side by side.

Much the same problem faced my forefathers in the middle years of the last century, when our Republic was torn by a clash between two such rival economies:—that of the North, and that of the South, the latter based upon the utilization of slave labour. I think that all fair-minded observers agree that an economy based upon slavery was then and is now an anachronism.

Abraham Lincoln foresaw coming events in 1858, when, in accepting the Republican Senatorial nomination in Illinois, he remarked: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free."

At home, we sing "America" to the same tune that you use for "God Save the King". And whatever the dark future may bring forth let me quote from that song, this ardent prayer:

"Long may our land (and your land) be bright
With Freedom's Holy Light!"

(Prolonged applause followed by three lusty cheers for Mr. Cromwell)

Mr. H. C. Powell: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cromwell: First, we want to thank the Canadian Club for their coöperation in joining with the Empire Club today in welcoming Mr. Cromwell at their Luncheon.

I haven't got very many words to say to keep you, but to Mr. Cromwell I would say I am sure that the members of both Clubs, on whose behalf I speak, join with me in conveying to you our sincere thanks and appreciation for the splendid address you have just given us. We request you to please accept our thanks for coming here today to address us. (Applause)

"SOME WAR-TIME BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS"

AN ADDRESS BY J. M. MACDONNELL, ESQ., K.C.

Chairman: Rev. Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,
Vice-President.

Thursday, March 28, 1940

CANON WOODCOCK: I have the privilege today of introducing our guest of honour, Mr. Macdonnell, the General Manager of the National Trust Company. I have this privilege because of the unavoidable absence of our President, Dr. Gaby.

We were somewhat surprised to see such a large number of people present here today. Sometimes we have a large audience because a speaker is unknown and the people come more or less out of curiosity. They may have heard of him and they want to see him. Today that is not the reason you are here. You are here because you know the speaker. He is well known throughout the city and Province and throughout the Dominion of Canada. He is a very prominent business man as well as a very eminent lawyer. And, because you know him you know he has something to say to you which will be worth while. Also, you come, I am sure, to honour him, to show your esteem and respect for him.

Now, I am not a business man. If I were a business man, it seems to me I would go into the kind of business our guest is occupied with, namely, a Trust Company, because the field of their service is an absolutely sure field, and in these uncertain days it seems to me in business that is the kind of a field we want, something that is sure. They say that death and taxes are known to every man and there is nothing surer in life than those two things. From the number of pamphlets coming to me from the National

Trust Company and other companies, I take it that is the field of their service—death and taxes—so they have also something to do with a field that is absolutely sure.

Our guest of honour today is not only a business man but he is also very well known in other spheres. He was a soldier during the war and we are glad to see that we have representatives of His Majesty's Service here today in uniform. He performed very distinguished service during the war and was decorated with the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre. I have very great pleasure indeed, and I count it an honour, to introduce to you J. M. Macdonnell, Esq., K.C., whose subject is "Some War-Time Business and Financial Problems". Mr. Macdonnell.

(Applause)

MR. J. M. MACDONNELL, ESQ., K.C.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am very grateful indeed to you, Sir, for the kind things which you have said about me, because I have seldom found myself more in need of encouragement. I don't refer merely to the feeling I am sure any man of average decency has when he stands up and realizes that for an indefinite period his friends are condemned to listen to him. I think any man should have something of that feeling. My second and much more compelling reason is that only a week ago you had the pleasure and excitement of listening to a gentleman here who not only made a speech, interesting in itself, but full of the most delightful indiscreetness and this, I am sure, gives one a pleasure that almost nothing else can. This is no day for anyone, still less for a Conservative, to be indiscreet, and no indiscretion of any kind I could commit would be of the slightest interest to you. Therefore, I feel that anything I can say is bound to be dull, compared with the delightful indiscretions you listened to a week ago.

The third reason that weighed heavily on me was that for weeks you have been listening to many speakers and it seemed almost incredible than any man would be able to stand anything more in the way of speeches, particularly when we consider the weight of the speeches that have been given to you.

I commend to you those lines of Kipling's that I am sure are familiar to you all: "The tumult and the shouting dies, the Captains and the Kings depart", and I said to myself, "Who am I and what am I that I should dare to speak at a time like this when these great people have just left the scene?" And like some present here, like all Presbyterians, I hope, in my difficulty I turned to Holy Scripture, and I found there something which comforted me, and which is really my only excuse to be here at all. I shall read it to you. Those of you who have Bibles can check it up later on and see whether I am correct or not. It is a description of a conversation which the Prophet Elijah was having with the Almighty. The description goes as follows: "the Prophet was told, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the Lord. And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake:

And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice."

Now, Gentlemen, my only excuse for being here after the earthquake and the fire is that you have merely today the humble, still small voice of business, pretending to say a word to you about the problems which concern us.

But I should like to say, by way of parenthesis, that I have no desire that any remarks of mine should sound like cheap or superficial criticism of party strife, because I think we are apt sometimes to forget what my friend, Bill Morrison, the Mayor of Hamilton, said, that elections, after all, are not afternoon tea parties, and that strife goes with the party system, and that the party system is the only alternative known to man, discovered yet, to autocracy, and I think even when the party system produces some things we do not like, it would be wise for us to remember, and I repeat it, that it is the only know alternative to autocracy, and when we sneer at it cheaply and thoughtlessly, we are committing a great mistake.

However, I have strayed from my point. I mention that in parenthesis, and I come now to what I really wish to bring before you today.

I wish to suggest to you that there are certain problems which are facing the business community and which we will neglect at our peril. When I say at our peril, I mean peril. That is, peril, from the point of view of all people like ourselves who, I assume, believe in the individualist system.

Now, the peril I think is that these problems that we are facing and to which I shall refer have certainly got to be solved, and the only question is whether they will be solved through our system, by the exercise of courage, imagination and initiative and the qualities that go with it, or whether it will be left to be solved by government agency, which will inevitably be a regimentation which we all detest.

I would like to point out here that in the circumstances of the moment, that is to say, at a time when through the exigency of war we are bound to have control and regimentation beyond the ordinary, I repeat, in those circumstances, men's minds will easily incline to the thought that the solution of all our problems, of peace as well as war, can come through, not a decrease but an extension of government activity.

Now, the problems I wish particularly to speak about today are not the immediate problems of war. I venture to say I think we have made a fairly good beginning on them. (The election is over now.) The thing I really want to suggest to you is that there are certain problems that will be on our backs as soon as peace comes and that are in the gravest danger of being ignored now, particularly through the exigencies of war, and if we are not alive and alert to these now we may find too late that we have lost a chance to solve them.

It would be desirable, I think, before I come to the problems, to review quite briefly for you the situation at the moment, the problems of war-time, and the means that we are taking to deal with them. My chief objective is to pass on from those and endeavour to interest you, while there is still time—and we don't know how much time there is—we all hope in spite of everything that the war won't last very long—in the problems of peace. I proceed for a few moments to review with you the situation at the moment, the problems caused by the war, and the means which we are taking to meet them, and with that purpose, I find it convenient to refer you to the Budget Speech which was delivered last September, in Ottawa. I venture to urge on each and every one of you to read that speech, because I think it is a very able document and it contains a discussion in the most vital and profound way, of the problems which are now confronting us. The first point I want to make, quoting from the Budget Speech, is the distinction which Mr. Ilsley makes and I think it is a very important one, between what he calls the basic, the real cost of the war, that is to say, goods and services, of which we will be deprived during the course of the war, which will go into the conduct of the war and which will be used up when the war is over, that is the real cost, and, on the other hand, the money cost of the war, much of which in all probability will not have been paid by the end of the war but will remain.

These things are put so well and every word weighed. I venture to read to you three or four short quotations:

"However we finance the cost of the war," said Mr. Ilsley, "whether by taxation or by borrowing or by inflation, we cannot escape its real costs. By real costs I mean the goods and services which have to be sacrificed out of our current production to meet the needs of war".

And again, "This being the case it follows . . . that in real terms, viz., in terms of the loss to the nation of this production, a war is paid for substantially during its duration".

And he also says, "Obviously this simple fact has very important implications for any programme of war finance."

Now, I submit to you it is a self-evident fact, so far as material things are concerned, the shells required, food and clothes and the ships that will transport the goods and so on, that expenditure will have to be made during the war. We will lose those services ourselves and to what extent the war will have substantially been paid for at the moment it is finished. We know that on the financial side there is a very different story.

Just a word as to the means that the Budget Speech outlines by which these goods and services are to be provided. There are only two means. The first, of course, is additional production, and we very well know these is a vast room for provision of those needs in Canada by additional production. The second means is by saving. That is to say, the kind of thing going on in England today, where all kinds of services which the public was receiving last September or last August, are being received no more. A great deal can be done in that way. I have no doubt we can all think of things other people can very well give up, and we might even set ourselves to setting economies that could be made by other people and get them to do the same for us. At any rate, a great deal could be done. In England I understand there is an embargo on pets, and there are some dogs in our neighbourhood I could suggest might very well be dispensed with as a war economy.

I come again to the financial implications of this and I quote briefly from the Budget Speech. The Minister says, and you will agree, that there is a kind of logical connection between the real cost, that is to say the goods and services that have to be provided during the war, and the money cost, and that it would be an ideal thing if the money cost could be provided during the war, too. The Budget Speech points that out as follows:

"A 100 per cent taxation or pay-as-you-go policy would seem at first sight to represent the ideal policy of war finance."

But his words indicate that he doesn't think it a practical policy, but an ideal policy. Then he goes on:

"This takes no account of the desire, indeed the necessity of individuals making some savings . . . and an effort to take so much in taxation that individual savings would be practically wiped out would become so disruptive in character as inevitably to produce disorganization and public discontent."

And so the following conclusion is reached: "We must recognize that when diversion by means of taxation, etcetera, rather than borrowing is carried too far the average citizen begins to feel that there is no use in his working for any additional income and therefore he does not put his best effort into his work with the result that efficiency and production fall off."

Then there is a short passage on inflation, that I will mention briefly. You see, the Budget Speech does not include borrowing under the head of inflation. By borrowing is meant a borrowing whereby the borrower actually loses the spending power. That is not a pyramiding of borrowing power as during the last war. Inflation is described as a means whereby credit is increased, without any increase of production, but only with an increase in prices. That, I think, is the basic concept of inflation that we should bear in mind. Real inflation comes when your credit expansion does not result in a corresponding expansion of production, but when it brings only an increase of price, and the Budget Speech goes on to point out that inflation of this kind is a "thinly disguised scheme of taxation of a most unjust type". It is unjust because it bears hardest on the fixed income people and results in building up the kind of fortunes made during the last war and which caused such a sense of bitterness when the war was over.

Now, one final quotation. He describes briefly the policy decided on, thus:

"We shall follow as far as practicable a pay-as-you-go policy . . . we cannot carry taxes beyond the point where they interfere with production . . . what we cannot finance by taxation we shall finance by means of borrowing from the Canadian public at rates as low as possible."

Just a word about interest rates. I think they are of interest to all business men. I shall quote briefly from what is said there:

"We do not think that any material change from peace time levels will be necessary to attract a sufficient portion of the large increase of savings which should be produced by the expanding production and income under war time conditions."

Then he speaks briefly about the question of credit expansion. He says that they propose deliberately to expand credit. You remember this was done last Autumn by certain borrowings from the Banks. They planned deliberately to expand credit to get the wheels of industry moving, hoping they would be able with increased production to step up taxation. They would have more available to tax and borrow from so the credit expansion would prove merely a stimulus to production and not an inflationary move.

Well, now, I propose to spend a moment or two in reviewing what has happened since the outbreak of war, to see whether the government expectations have been fairly well realized. I think it is fair to say, in fact it is a self-evident fact, that there was no such disturbance last September as in August, 1914. Now, it is very natural for the Government to say that was because of the excellent arrangements made in advance and I think that is up to a point quite true, but I believe none the less, the real reason for want of disturbance was in the public mind. All but the very youngest business man had been through one war already and everybody had lived under the threat of war for years, so it seems to me we had been as good as at war several times within the last several years and when it actually came it created very little further disturbance.

I think it is easy to see what has happened in the last few months. We did have, as the Budget Speech outlined, a certain amount of government orders for production for military purposes in this country. You are all familiar with that. I need not do more than mention it.

Secondly, we did have a certain amount of purchases from abroad. For example, as you are aware, probably, Britain ordered 420 million pounds of copper which was 80 per cent of our annual production. She ordered our entire exportable production of lead and zinc and aluminum, and stepped up receivings of bacon under the Ottawa Agreements.

So all those things were important and synchronized last Autumn, and the result of it was we received a very considerable stimulus. The munitions orders from abroad, as you know, were less than expected at one time, for three very definite and intelligible reasons. First of all, the fact that vast stocks had been accumulated before in England and France. Secondly, for diplomatic reasons they had to buy as largely as they could in Southern Europe and other parts of the world. Thirdly, of course, because of the very small expenditure of munitions of war to date.

What does all that add up to in terms of actual production? Last September, our manufacturing machine was working at about 80 per cent of capacity, that being about 20 per cent improvement during the twelve months preceding. From that point it stepped up approximately another 20 per cent, so you could see before the end of the year we were working very near to capacity. There was a lull, due, I think, quite clearly to the flattening out of our own government expenditures after the first rush, and also to the failure of larger orders to materialize from abroad.

On the other hand, the war contracts are coming along steadily. We see them advertised from week to week. The tempo of manufacturing is picking up again. Actually, as one of the best observers, as I regard him, pointed out to me the other day, we shall be in a real danger before long of a shortage of skilled labour. Indeed, in certain trades, such as the aeroplane industry, that is already present. He pointed out also an interesting fact, that whereas in the States in 1930 they had six million skilled workers, that is now reduced to about five million. No doubt the same process is going on with us. There is a war-time problem, for manufacturers to try to recruit and train the necessary additions to our skilled labour personnel.

Now, one word in reviewing the Government's expectations about interest rates. People are sceptical in certain quarters as to whether low interest rates can be maintained. As you know, the evidence to the moment is that it can be, it has been. There was an article in the *London Economist,* which I regard as one of the soundest financial papers in the world, at the end of January, which was called *A Three Per Cent War,* and in the most recent *Economist* there was another article, entitled *Three Per Cent* which commented on the recent British War Loan, and from which I quote briefly:

"Just as the last war was a five per cent war, this one could be accepted as a three per cent war," and it goes on and adds this: "These measures should now be followed up by a deliberate campaign to impress upon the general public, and in particular upon all those who are concerned in any way with the lending and borrowing of money, that lower and ever lower interest rates are, at least for the duration of the war, a vital concern of the community at large."

Keynes, I noticed a day or two ago, had calculated in figures which sounded to me fabulous, that the last war might have cost 2 million pounds less if it had been financed under a sounder basis. No doubt one of the great items he had in mind would have been the difference between five per cent and three per cent.

Now, I have mentioned our war production and the results to date, in the briefest way. I should like to say a word as to the functioning of the machine. Colonel Ralston spoke in this building some weeks ago and thanked the business community for what it had done by way of coöperation, and I think it is fair to say that the business community feel that certain government boards, notably the Exchange Control Board and the Price Control Board, are trying to function in a reasonable and coöperative way. I think the Price Control Board, up to the present, has had not actually the fixing of prices, but the provision of necessary materials so there shall be regularity and smoothness in the working of industry.

It is interesting to reflect, when you look back and read of the very, very substantial contributions which we made to the common cause twenty years ago, that in almost every department of Canadian production of raw materials, for example, our production capacity has gone up several times in the last few years. The amount we can do during this war, if properly organized, is really something prodigious.

So much for the war effort. As I told you at the outset of my remarks, what I really wish to concentrate my attention on—and I hope, yours—is the question of after the war. I think myself that we show signs of solving the war problems reasonably well. Of course it is so much easier to solve war problems because you have people in an entirely different state of mind. People are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the State, and they feel they have a duty to save it. We are never able to make them have that feeling in peace time, and it seems to me we, as a business community, should face the fact, not from an altruistic standpoint, but from the standpoint of self-preservation. We have got to do that this time or we will suffer in ways we don't like.

One of the difficulties, of course, is this, that by a curious irony, war at the present time is helping to solve, for the moment, some of the things that bothered us most eight months before the war broke out. It has probably helped a good deal with the unemployment problem and the greatest possible danger lies in our relapsing. In other words, we may be inclined to think it is not a great problem after all, we may not have to face it again. I should suggest that we bear constantly in mind, that at the very best, any help we get from war in the solution of this problem can't be anything better than a shot in the arm, and we are sure to have it back on our door-step in worse form than ever when the war is over.

That being so, I venture, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, to suggest that we should be thinking about those things now. You might say, "Well, you have just been telling us that we are making a rather better job of the conduct of the war than we did last time. Why shouldn't we make a better job of the conduct of the aftermath of the war, too? Didn't we do a fair job in 1919, and the years following?"

I can understand anyone saying that, but I believe it is a most fallacious comparison. I would like to suggest one or two reasons why I say that.

In the first place, there is a very strong moral and psychological reason that we all ought to take into account. I believe it is of very great importance.

Before dealing with that I want to remind you briefly what did happen after the last war. We had the advantage in the years following the war of very considerable sales to Europe. You remember the mania for economic self-sufficiency had not then so advanced as now, and you remember before the war was many years past the United States was lending large sums to Europe which they were able to use in buying all sorts of products, ours included. For example, it almost makes your mouth water to read that in 1919 we were selling wheat at $2.37 a bushel, and in 1920 it was still $1.62.

After the last war we placed a large number of men on the land. 22,000 men were placed on the land—a very substantial number if you consider the purchasing power that goes with every man placed on the land. Even though that turned out in many ways not so successful in the years following, still it did help very largely to solve the problem at that time, very substantially indeed.

You had at that time the newsprint industry, expanding and expanding, with the result labour was employed in the paper mills, in the woods taking out logs, and in the machine shops turning out newsprint machines.

We had also the motor industry and also a certain amount of building.

Then if you take the situation today—of course, you may say, what is the use of taking it today? We may have unpredictable changes that may leave problems at the end of the war that none of us can foresee now. Isn't it a waste of time? My answer is a very simple one. I don't believe anyone sitting here will deny these two propositions. First, we all devoutly hope it will end soon. Second, the longer it lasts, the greater the problems will be. Therefore, if you agree with that, I would say there is no excuse for us delaying a moment in trying to look at these things and seeing what we can do.

You have only to ask yourselves what you would feel like if the war ended today and you were faced with the problem even as it is now. That brings us to the differences. In the first place, I think there is a psychological difference of great importance. Twenty years ago, I remember very well, the only desire of the men in the Forces at the end of the war was to be demobilized as quickly as they could. They had left civilian life reluctantly and they wanted to get back. They had left civilian life at a time when unemployment and relief, in the minds of the people living in Canada, were strange things that happened in far-off countries that they regarded as very backward, and the thought that it could happen in Canada was not present in their minds.

Therefore, we had these men anxious to get back into civilian life as early as they could. Do you think that is true of all men in the army now? Would you like the job of demobilizing the boys now? To just say, "Good-bye and Good Luck! Here is a handout by way of a gratuity." I wouldn't like the job. I don't think anybody would. I think it would be a very serious job, even as we have it today. Multiply that as much as you like, and you can do mental arithmetic as much as you like and see whether you would like the job when it has grown like Topsy.

If you agree with that I will just review briefly the comparison with twenty years ago. Will we be able to place men on the land in large numbers? I think you can answer that.

Is the newsprint industry going to expand and help us a lot in the next few years? I think you can answer that.

I don't know whether the motor car industry will or not. Some people here present can answer that better than I can.

Do you think the United States is going to lend money to Europe so they can buy large quantities of goods from us? You can answer that.

Then, I come to the building industry. That helped quite a lot twenty years ago. Has that been helping us recently? It has been like an "old man of the sea" on our backs, and the cause of more unemployment, I suppose, than all other industry put together.

Now, if I have succeeded at all, I have made a *prima facie* case—there is something to think about. I hope, before I sit down, to convince you we had better think about it. My own feeling is that the challenge is to the whole business community, and if we "leave it to George", we will find out that George is a very unpalatable dose of state socialism that we don't like. That is who I think "George" will be.

I read the other day what I thought was a very wise and sound remark. I should like to quote it to you: "Widespread initiative is essential to democracy. Where the democratic spirit is alive people do not wait to be told what to do but get to work on the job nearest at hand."

I would like to ask you to remember that. If you remember that and read the Budget Speech, I would feel my coming here today would not be an entire waste of your time. I think we are coming back again and again to that.

How many times have you heard people indulging in this form of mutual self-contradictory argument: "For Heaven's sake, let us keep the government out of business." Then some problem comes up. Did you ever hear those people say, "Well, the Government will have to do that"? I have heard that, again and again. It is the most destructive kind of argument.

Now, in the few minutes I have I want to suggest one or two things. I can only enumerate briefly one or two things that seem to stand out as things that might be done. Maybe they are not the right things. Maybe you can think of far better things. I urge on you we should be thinking of things. If these are not the right ones, let us have others.

First of all, we should hold back as far as possible, all public expenditures for ordinary purposes. That suggestion has been made again and again. There is nothing new about that. I understand during the last war that wasn't done at all. We were spending largely on the war and also spending largely on our own private business.

In the second place there is the question of saving in war-time. You have all probably seen that Keynes, who has been such an uncanny prophet the last twenty years—you remember in 1919, he wrote a book that predicted practically everything that happened on the economic scene—is advocating enforced saving in England. For two purposes: first, it is essential to cut down consumption and release the necessary amount of goods for war purposes;

secondly, because he says if you keep consumption down and thereby keep prices down, you will enable people to save and leave in the hands of a large number of people a spending power at the end of the war. Therefore, he puts this idea forward, not merely as an assistance in the carrying on of the war, but as a social good for the meeting of a condition which is going to arrive later on.

I have no time to dwell further on this. I want to make the point that I think saving should not be confined to civilians. There are a lot of young men in the army, many with no dependents of any kind. I leave you to figure out whether it is sensible to feed them, clothe them, house them, give them all kinds of comforts through various organizations, and leave them with about $40.00 a month to blow in. How much better if those men without dependents had enforced saving, by deferred pay, so when the war comes to an end, then everyone would have a big stake. What have they to show for their $40.00 a month if that doesn't happen? You know the answer as well as anyone. I don't think anyone would accuse me of being unsympathetic to soldiers. That is true sympathy for them.

One other thing. The newsprint industry expanded twenty years ago. It expanded so well that it cleared away many of our forests. It may well be that one of the wisest things at the end of the war is to have reforestation in a big way. Probably a wise suggestion would be to do the by means of advances to companies, repayable over a long term, and on very easy rates, as that means you would have your expenditure in the hands of those who could presumably do it wisely and well.

Now, there are other things I could mention, but I want to leave myself two or three minutes for the one I think is of vast importance, exceeding all the others.

I will mention in passing, immigration. Don't let us forget, in spite of all that has been said of immigration, that good immigrants are priceless assets still. (Applause)

In the second place—I have no time except just to mention it—don't let us take a short time, superficial view of the St. Lawrence waterway. One of the wisest men I know, admitting the short time argument against it, said, "If you take a proper long time argument, and compare with the function of the Panama Canal, many of the short time arguments against it don't seem so convincing."

I come to the housing problem. I suppose it is not an exaggeration to say it was the housing problem that dragged England out by the boot tops. As I told you before, we have all admitted the housing problem has been one of our colossal failures.

I can imagine the economic control of one of the totalitarian states coming into this country and finding a lot of unemployment and I can imagine him saying to somebody here: "No need of housing here?" "Oh, yes, there is need of housing." "Lots of building materials?" "Yes, lots of building materials." "Lots of capital?" "Yes, lots of capital." "Why can't you build houses?" We explain, of course, the reason we can't build houses is twofold. First of all, we have let our taxation on real estate get away out of line. Secondly, building costs, that is to say the wage per hour of the artisans have gone up so high that it makes the cost almost prohibitive and, incidentally, has probably cut down his income by the year, though not by the hour.

I can imagine your controller saying, "I will deal with that pretty quickly. A couple of decrees will settle that."

We can't settle it by decrees and thank God we can't, but it does seem an impossible alternative for those who believe in a free economy to say that they can't settle it at all, that it is impossible, that they can't do anything about it.

That is a challenge we are up against, not merely in the building industry but in a much bigger way than that. I have neither the time nor the knowledge to tell you today how that is to be done. I would hope that the Rowell-Sirois Report may now be able to help us. Whether it does or not I would say, to me it doesn't make sense that people who regard themselves as competent and boast of freedom, cannot solve this thing and are left with the dilemma that I believe your totalitarian dictator would regard, if he blew in here, as just stark nonsense.

Now, I have tried to persuade you that this is a problem, that there is a problem here which requires earnest and continuous attention, beginning at once and continuing intensively while the war goes on, whether it is a month or three months or three years.

Now, some people will say, "Leave it to the Government." The ones I quoted before say to leave it to the government, though probably in the breath before that they were cursing the government for interfering with business.

I think there are two reasons for not leaving it to the government. First of all, they are terribly busy and they have not much time to think about this. Secondly, don't let us make any mistake about this, if we leave it to them there is only one way they can do it. That is by regimentation piled on regimentation. Don't let us forget two things. We have some very able men down there. I am speaking primarily of the men in the permanent service. That is not intended in any way as a slur on others. I am thinking of men who day in and day out are there. They have to do the thinking and planning and they are going to be there when governments come and governments go. Those men are doing a good job and they like doing the job and you can't expect that during the war they will not come to feel that the proper way to deal with things is through government control. That is what is going to be happening for the next period of months or perhaps years. If we believe that it should come in another way, by private initiative, by the efforts of the individualist system which has done so much, and which can do so much more, then I say we can't possibly leave it to governments.

So, Gentlemen, I conclude by suggesting to you that at this time our system is undergoing a challenge. You have heard it freely predicted in many quarters that the capitalist system—I much prefer to call it the individualist system—with its free economy can never survive another war. Well, we are in the war. I don't suppose there is a single man in this room who doesn't believe and hope that is not so. Certainly I hope and believe that it is not so. But there is a hard condition on it. I believe it will not be solved if we leave it to George, and I told you who I think George is. Therefore, I conclude by merely saying to you again that we will need imagination, courage, energy, sympathy and initiative, but the greatest of these is initiative.

(Applause—prolonged)

Canon Woodcock: Gentlemen, I am going to ask Mr. J. F. Weston to express your thanks to the speaker today. I didn't give Mr. Weston any warning—it was just a sudden inspiration and I thought he would do it well, so I am going to call upon him now.

Mr. J. F. Weston: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I consider it a great privilege that you have given me to express the gratification which I know we all feel to Mr. Macdonnell for the clear, concise manner in which he has expressed himself upon the problems which concern us all, and the lead which he has given us to follow, the lines which he points out to be our individual duty if we would play our part in preserving the system in which we all believe. He has chosen his topic well to make us mentally follow a straight line in the confusion of the complex public opinion that we share in common with all people. He has shown clearly the direction in which a practical result may follow if we play our part well and do not let up in this time of conflict. Finally, I thought the close of his speech indicated the responsibility which rests upon each to play our part in preserving this thing which we feel worth while to have entered this war for and which we are determined to carry on to a successful conclusion.

I was very pleased and inspired at his urge that each of us never fails to remember the responsibility which rests upon us as citizens if we would continue the privileges we enjoy of citizenship and democracy.

We thank you, Mr. Macdonnell, for the thoughts you have given us, for the plain and concise manner in which you have presented this and for your kindness in coming to us today. (Applause)

"CANADA'S POSITION IN RELATION TO THE EMPIRE'S MINERAL SITUATION"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. CHARLES CAMSELL,
C.M.G., B.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C., F.G.S.A.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby.

Thursday, April 4, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: It is a distinct honour to welcome as our guest-speaker such a distinguished Canadian as Dr. Camsell, and though he is here at some slight inconvenience to himself, owing to an injury he received a few days ago, we are very pleased to have him with us. Dr. Camsell has played a very important part in the development of Canada's natural resources and he has been prominent in its exploration as a geologist, a scientist and as Administrator of the Department of the Federal Government dealing with resources that are of primary importance to our industrial economy and world trade.

Dr. Camsell has reached such prominence in engineering and science and has received so many degrees and honours from universities and societies, both engineering and scientific, that I can only mention a few of the more outstanding honours and degrees that have been conferred upon him. He graduated from the Manitoba University with the degree of B.A. in 1894. He received the degree of LL.D. from Queen's University in 1922, and LL.D. from Alberta University in 1929. In recognition of his outstanding contributions to his chosen sciences he has received many high honours from many societies, and more particularly, the Murchison Grant, awarded him in 1922 by the Royal Geographical Society for exploratory work in Northern Canada. He has been President of the Royal Society of Canada in the years 1930-31, and was President of the Engineering Institute of Canada in 1932. He was

Vice-President of the International Geological Congress in 1913, and many more honours have been conferred upon him by these and other societies. He was awarded the Gold Medal of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in 1931, for his untiring zeal and great ability in promoting the development of the natural resources of the Dominion and furthering the general interests of the mineral industry.

Dr. Camsell has on many occasions been a special representative from Canada on important foreign commissions, particularly the World Economic Power Congress in 1924, in London; and again in 1930, in Berlin, and in 1936 in Washington. He was the Canadian representative at the Mining Conference in South Africa in 1930. In Berlin, its Chairman, in announcing the address of Dr. Camsell, referred to him as representing the whole of North America, notwithstanding the fact that there were United States guests present at that time.

Dr. Camsell joined the Department of which he is now head in 1900 and became the adminstrative head of the Department of Mines in 1920, and when the department was amalgamated with the Departments of Interior, Immigration and Indian Affairs in 1936, he was again the administrative head of that Department and also Deputy Minister. All of this work he has carried on with distinction.

I take very much pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Camsell, Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources for the Dominion whose subject today is, "Canada's Position in Relation to the Empire's Mineral Situation". Dr. Camsell. (Applause)

Dr. Charles Camsell, C.M.G., B.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C., F.G.S.A.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: To speak to the Empire Club of Canada is a distinct honour, indeed, although making public addresses today is not what it used to be because of the necessity of submitting what you have to say to the censor. Having submitted my manuscript to the censor and having had it approved, I feel that it is necessary for me to stick pretty closely to the text in order that I may play the game with him—whoever he is. You will pardon me, therefore, if I have to refer to my notes quite frequently.

Thoughtful people everywhere are, I am sure, agreed that the present struggle, in which the British Empire and its Allies are engaged, is one that will call forth the mobilization of all our resources if we are to bring it to a successful conclusion, and if those things that freedom-loving people regard as essential to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are to prevail.

In the final analysis, success must rest with the contestant who can bring to bear the most weight of organized resources both of man-power and materials. Nevertheless, the best organization of man-power in the world is not a suitable substitute for raw materials. The cry of the ancient Israelite to his Egyptian taskmaster, "We cannot make bricks without straw" is as applicable today as when first uttered. There can be no "ersatz" for metals and minerals in either modern civilization or modern warfare.

It has been said that "modern industrial civilization rests upon a raw material base," and minerals are among the most important of raw materials used in present day civilization. I do not think that any of you will disagree with that. We have only to glance about us and see the impossibility of naming a half dozen articles essential to our present day needs, wherein some mineral product does not enter, either directly or indirectly.

Looking about among the nations we find that those countries that we regard as the most advanced and most progressive, are those that have been by nature endowed with a mineral heritage or have made the greatest developments of those resources. Modern civilization has made itself dependent upon a diversity of mineral materials and uses them to an extent never approached at any other time in the world's history. The irony of it is that these very mineral products that contribute so much to our peacetime comfort and progress, become in war equally important as agents of destruction.

Throughout the milleniums of the Stone Age, stone was the single essential war mineral, later to be superseded by copper and tin in the Bronze Age; and these in turn by wrought iron. The invention of gunpowder began a new epoch in warfare and added sulphur, saltpeter, and lead, to the list of essential war minerals. With the invention of the steam engine came the substitution of steam power for sail, and of iron for wood in warships; with the introduction of longer ranged rifled guns and improvements in metallurgical practice, came all the new developments in the use of metals and minerals that have since been applied to military needs.

Each advance in the destructive powers of offensive weapons was countered by effective means of defence, and these were met in turn by more destructive agents of warfare and by more effective transport and communication facilities.

As contrasted with warfare of the last century, warfare today demands the mobilization of the entire economic resources of the nations engaged. A modern war is a total war.

The Great War established a record for its diversity of munitions and supplies. Developments in the science of war since 1918 have resulted in the almost complete mechanization of land forces and the transition of the air forces from an auxiliary arm to one of major importance. As a result the demands are for more and more metals and minerals for building, operating, and fighting the new war machines.

No nation possesses sufficient raw materials from which to draw its whole requirements in peace time and all are even less self-sufficient in times of war. This is particularly true of mineral materials, all of which play some part in warfare as waged today. You find, in order to meet the deficiencies of these materials that are needed in times of emergency, policies being adopted by certain peoples. In the United States they are storing up stocks of materials of which they have no domestic supplies, to meet emergencies that might arise in the future, and I have no doubt that our enemy, Germany, has been storing up stocks of things which she cannot produce in her own country. There isn't any question about it, she has been storing up supplies of petroleum, and I shall refer to that later on.

Deficiencies in domestic supplies must be met by purchases from other nations. Large economic resources or credits are of vital importance in war in order to finance such purchases. The significance of economic reserves has been ably demonstrated by the fact that at the outbreak of the present war all the allied nations, including Canada, set up Exchange Control Boards with wide powers to strengthen the national foreign credit position. This emphasizes the importance of gold—still the universally accepted medium of exchange—as an essential war material though usually not classed as such.

Realizing then the importance of minerals and metals in modern warfare, let us examine briefly the contributions that can be made by a nation's mining industry to its military needs in time of war. These are of two kinds:

First: The production of those minerals that are essential for the manufacture of armaments, munitions, and other war supplies, and what is equally important, for normal civil needs.

Second: The creation of essential foreign credits by the production of gold, silver, and other minerals surplus to national needs.

Therefore, in times of stress such as the civilized world is now enduring—and when the British Empire is involved not only in a struggle for existence but when we are fighting for every principle we believe right—it is highly important that we appraise the resources at our command. In particular, we as Canadians—proud as we are to be a member of the British Commonwealth—are concerned with knowing what we are capable of contributing towards the final success of the struggle between Liberty and Force.

The United States and the British Empire control, either by direct development in their own territory or by capital and enterprise in foreign territory, three-fourths of the world's mineral production. The most recent Empire survey figures are those published for 1937. They show the Empire's percentage share of the world's volume of output, as follows: Of the twenty-one chief minerals of the world, in only three, namely, sulphur, petroleum, and potash, did the Empire's share fall below 10 per cent. Some of the more important were coal, 21 per cent, gold 46, nickel 90, lead 36, copper 25, zinc 29, tin 48, and asbestos 74 per cent.

The strength of the Empire's mineral industry lies not only in its large share of the world output, but on the rest of the world's dependence upon it, to a great extent for asbestos, nickel, tin, platinum, diamonds, and china clay. Its weakness lies in its dependence on other sources for antimony, mercury, potash, molybdenum, petroleum, and sulphur.

Now, let us see how Canada contributes to Empire strength. In 1936, Canada accounted for 18 per cent of the total Empire mineral output, being exceeded by the United Kingdom with 40.73 per cent and the Union of South Africa with 18.41 per cent, and far outdistancing Australia and India with 4.74 and 3.11 per cent respectively.

The United Kingdom leads the Empire in iron ore, pig iron, coal, china clay, salt, gypsum, feldspar, and fluorspar; South Africa leads in gold and diamonds; Australia in lead and zinc ores; India in manganese, mica, magnesite, potassium nitrate, titanium ore, and talc; Southern Rhodesia in chrome ore.

Where Canada excels is in the extent and variety of essential metals she produces.

In 1939 the value of Canada's mineral output was approximately 470 million dollars; this was the highest on record, yielding first place only to agriculture among the primary industries. The Dominion now occupies a leading position among the world's mineral producers, ranking first in nickel, asbestos, and platinum; either first or second in radium (I don't know exactly what our first competitor in that metal produces); second in zinc, third in gold, silver and copper, and fourth in lead. Because these metals are produced in amounts far in excess of national needs, large quantities are available for export to allied and neutral countries. In addition the Dominion produces large quantities of coal, gypsum, salt, petroleum, and other minerals. In fact the list of minerals produced in commercial quantities, as issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, shows some 23 metals and 20 non-metallic, exclusive of structural materials, clay, lime and cement, as well as the fuels, coal, petroleum and natural gas.

The attainment of such prominence in world mineral production is evidence not only of the abundance and diversity of the Dominion's mineral resources, but indicates the highly organized condition of the industry and its ability to develop these resources at costs sufficiently low to enter the highly competitive export markets of the past decade. In consequence, the mineral industry is in a position to make a contribution to the present war effort on a scale hardly dreamed of, even at the close of the last war in 1918. In fact our production of raw materials, minerals included, may be the determining factor in the present situation.

During the forty-seven years between Confederation and the Great War, Canada's attention was devoted almost entirely to the solution of the many problems relating to the political and economic development of the new Dominion; agricultural settlement of the new provinces; lumbering; immigration; and building of railways, towns, cities, and other associated activities. Its mineral resources were explored only as an incident to such activities. In 1913 the mining industry recorded the peak of its pre-war annual output value of 146 million dollars, of which metallic minerals represented 46 per cent, the fuels 28 per cent, and the industrial minerals and structural products 26 per cent. All but a small portion of the metals were exported. Silver was the leader in output value, followed by gold, nickel, copper, lead, iron, cobalt and zinc. Of the four non-ferrous metals, copper, lead, zinc, and nickel, only lead was produced as refined metal; Canadian requirements of the others in refined form being imported. The development of Canada's mineral resources up to the commencement of the Great War had, therefore, no relation to war requirements except in the production of nickel matte for export. Our problems were solely those relating to peace.

Even the Great War scarcely made us mineral conscious although it led to the establishment of a copper and zinc refinery at Trail in 1916, and of a nickel refinery at Port Colborne in 1918. Apart from these our mineral products continued to be shipped abroad for refining. The great strength of the Dominion's mining industry to support the present war effort has been largely a development of the last twenty years and this in spite of the fact that the country experienced some years of the greatest industrial depression ever known. Canada's mineral output in 1939 was, as I have said before, valued at 470 million dollars; almost 3¼ times that of 1913, and nearly 2¼ times that of 1918, under the maximum pressure of the then war demands.

Of the most essential of the metals required for war purposes, Canada is a leading producer of copper, lead, zinc, and nickel, in the refined form suitable for the uses of industry. The domestic consumption of each is relatively small and large surpluses are available for export. In the first few months of the war Canadian producers of copper, lead, and zinc, entered into contracts with the British Government to supply annually large quantities—210,000 short tons of refined copper and our exportable surplus of lead and zinc—at prices approximating those prevailing just at the outbreak of the war. Contrast this with conditions in 1914, when Canada, apart from lead, was producing scarcely a pound of these metals and Britain was forced to go into world markets and to pay as high as 26 cents per pound for copper, 8½ cents for lead, and 8.1 cents per pound for zinc. Prices that are double at least those at which these metals are now being supplied to the United Kingdom.

Last year Canadian mines produced over 303,000 tons of copper, 80 per cent being produced in the refined form. Its lead refineries have a rated annual capacity of over 200,000 tons, while its zinc refineries are capable of producing over 180,000 tons of zinc metal. From the point of view of the present emergency, this is the most significant change in our mining industry in the last twenty years.

Although used in smaller quantities than copper, lead and zinc, nickel is important both because of its strictly military uses and for its use in industrial steels applied to military needs. Canada is at present the source of 85 per cent of the world's supply and production of nickel has been greatly increased by the industrial uses of the metal; the peak peace time production of over 113,000 tons in 1939 being 2½ times that of 1918, when the requirements of the Great War were at their height. The outstanding development since 1918 has been the increased production of the refined product. In 1918 the refinery at Port Colborne produced 1,200 tons, the present capacity of the plant is in excess of 75,000 tons. Canadian nickel producers are, therefore, in a position to supply ample quantities of nickel both in refined and unrefined form at prices substantially lower than prevailed in the Great War. For example, the average price of nickel, largely as refined metal, in 1939 was 22½ cents a pound as compared with the corresponding average value of 36 2/3 cents a pound for the entire output, almost wholly in unrefined form, for the four years from 1915 to 1918 inclusive.

Iron is, of course, the chief war metal, being the basic constituent of nearly all armaments and munitions as well as of the supporting industrial and transport machine. While Canada's production of iron ore has been almost negligible, compared to the great iron producing countries of the world, nevertheless, investigations of the last few years, indicate several deposits of iron ore suitable both in size and quality for commercial development. Operations have already commenced on two of these properties, one is actively producing on a scale of almost 300,000 tons of ore annually; the other, a deposit of high-grade hematite, is being actively explored. Indications are that this is likely to prove one of Canada's most important mineral discoveries. In addition, blast furnaces for the production of pig iron and steel, and having a total capacity of 1,600,000 tons, are located at Sydney, Nova Scotia, Hamilton, Port Colborne, and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Although Canada has no commercial deposits of aluminium ore, nevertheless, the Dominion ranks third among the world producers of aluminium metals and this industry in Canada is largely a growth since the last war. Thus the exports of approximately 65,000 tons in 1938 were almost

5 times higher than in 1918. The productive capacity of the Canadian aluminium producing plants is being substantially increased and it has been announced that the entire output, surplus to domestic requirements, is now under contract to the British Government.

I have suggested that while gold and silver were not essential war metals they were important from the standpoint of establishing foreign credits. Canada's output of gold in 1939 was valued in excess of 181 million dollars in Canadian funds. This sum represents immediately available foreign credits in the United States of 176 million dollars, or more than ten times the average annual foreign credits made available by Canadian gold mines for the four years from 1915 to 1918. Not only is the contribution of our gold output greater than in the Great War, but under the present United States policy of cash and carry, it is necessary, in order to take full advantage of the huge industrial organization of that country for the production of war equipment. Canadian gold producers, therefore, are making a very important contribution to our war effort.

In addition to these, there are a number of other important minerals and metals necessary in the conduct of the war. We might mention, for example, the platinum group metals, cobalt, tellurium, selenium, and cadmium. Of these platinum is the most important. Our production of over 160,000 ounces in 1939 assures the Allies of a large proportion of the available world output, compared with our average production of 800 ounces during the last four years of the Great War. Many will remember the condition we had to face when the supply of platinum was very meagre and search was made all over the Dominion of Canada for platinum deposits, without very much success.

In the field of the non-metallics, Canada still remains the chief producer of asbestos and her production in 1939 was almost double what it was in 1918. Her production of gypsum in the amount of tonnage is almost eight times that of 1918; salt, more than three times; our coal production remains constant at about 15 million tons.

Now, we come to petroleum which is perhaps most important of the lot in many respects. Our production of petroleum has increased from 305,000 barrels in 1918 to nearly 8 million barrels in 1939, and the prospects are that that production will continue to grow, particularly if it is possible to provide a wider market for what the western fields are able to produce. These western fields, as many of you know, are hampered to some extent by reason of the fact that the market is limited to the western prairies. If sufficient reserves are developed in Western Canada, which is not the case at the moment, I have no doubt that the time will come when you will see western oil transported eastward to refineries in Ontario, because if there is one thing I believe in, it is that the oil resources of Western Canada are very great indeed. One cannot travel across the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, from the International Boundary line towards the Arctic Ocean, without being impressed with the possibilities of oil development all along that eastern slope, because where one does cross those mountains, one finds evidences of petroleum here and there.

That again brings us to the question of what is the situation with regard to peroleum in Germany. Little is known of it, but it is probable that oil is one of the things which has been stored up during past years, because Germany's capacity to produce petroleum is very limited. They have a few small fields, but their main effort has been directed for many years toward the development of processes for the conversion of coal into oil. It is said that by these processes Germany is able to supply perhaps 40 per cent of her peace time requirements. On the other hand, the oil that is produced from that source is not entirely suitable for all aviation purposes and for such, Germany has to look to the outside world. Possibly one of the reasons for the invasion of Poland was to secure the control of the oil fields of that country. Poland's production, however, has never been very great—it is something like a four million barrels a year. While I am not quite certain of this, I am inclined to thing that Russia got the major share of the oil fields in the partition of Poland.

The next source available to them, of course, is Rumania. Rumania's annual production is about 50 million barrels a year, but she has to supply her own requirements as well as the requirements of the Balkan States to the south. In addition to that, about 60 per cent of the production is under the control of financial interests in Holland, in France and in England, and undoubtedly the efforts of the British and French controllers of these sources are directed towards seeing that as little as possible of Rumanian oil gets across to Germany.

The next source is in the Caspian and Baku. Now, Russia's production from Baku normally is about 200 million barrels a year, and in past years she has had only a small proportion of that available for export—something like one per cent, perhaps, of the total. So, unless Russia develops additional supplies of petroleum in her own country, she will not have a great deal to export, even to Germany. But there is another factor which makes it difficult to get Russian petroleum into Germany, and that is the distance between the two countries. It has to be taken across the Caucasus by means of a pipe-line 400 miles in length, then 600 miles across the Black Sea and, finally, up the Danube 1200 or 1500 miles before the oil reaches Germany. In all, some 2,500 miles of transport has to be covered in order to get the oil to its destination. I have no doubt these points are very well known to those who are defining the strategy and the tactics of this war and to cut that supply will be one of the important objects of the Allies.

Now, I have said that the present position of Canada's mining industry has been built up almost wholly on the basis of peace time effort. Modern warfare, which is essentially a test of economic and material resources, only increases the tempo of peace time activity. From the brief account of the industry's position that I have given you, it is evident that Canada is capable of making a very much greater contribution to the Empire's war effort than she did in the last war. Particularly is this true in the case of the base metals so vitally important in the prosecution of modern mechanized warfare, and in gold, no less essential in financing the war effort.

At the beginning of the Great War, Canada produced important quantities of nickel but not in refined form. It produced comparatively little copper, lead and zinc, and only lead in refined form. Its role as a world gold producer was a small one—770,000 ounces, valued at less than 16 million dollars. Since that time its annual production of nickel has more than quadrupled. The Dominion is regarded as one of the great producers and exporters of copper, lead, zinc, gold, and platinum, and a large exporter of aluminium. It is fully equipped with large metallurgical refining plants, one each for lead, nickel, and aluminium, two each for copper and zinc, and the capacity of all these can be increased with relatively small capital outlay. What is of almost equal importance is that there has been developed in Canada a corps of skilled miners, metallurgists, and chemists, capable not only of carrying on the work demanded of them but endowed with an ingenuity and initiative that will enable them to solve any new problem that might face them. Moreover, these men are available for service in other parts of the Empire and already men who received their training in Canada are to be found in the mining and metallurgical plants of Australia, Africa and India.

During the Great War the world shortage of productive capacities of the essential war metals and the urgent demand for larger supplies forced prices to abnormally high levels. Because of the conditions under which Canadian base metal ores occur, coupled with cheap power and skill in operation, unit costs of production are low. The producers have passed on the advantages of their low cost of production to the British Government for war purposes by furnishing the larger part of their output at prices prevailing prior to the war. It is estimated that the British Government will pay from $75,000,000 to $90,000,000 less than for similar purchases in 1918. That is the contribution of the base metal mines of this country toward our war effort.

Today Canada's mining industry is organized as never before to meet any demands that may be made upon it. It played an enviable part during the depression; it can be expected to play its full part in the present war effort, both in providing necessary war minerals for military purposes, and in supporting the economic arm. Thank you. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Dr. Camsell and Distinguished Guests: We are indeed indebted to you for the fine address, and the excellent manner and comprehensive way in which you have dealt with your subject today, which demonstrates the necessity of mineral resources for our economic development, and the place of the mining industry in our defence. It is time that the importance of our mineral resources should be stressed and the advantageous position that Canada is in to meet its own and world demands through present and future development.

I take much pleasure on your behalf in extending the thanks and appreciation of the Empire Club to Dr. Camsell for his excellent address. (Applause)

We are indeed pleased today to have with us many distinguished guests who have been associated with Dr. Camsell in the mining industry and other societies in which he has been interested for such a long period of time and for which he has done so much as the Administrator of the Department of Mines and Resources in Ottawa. We thank them for being present with us today. (Applause)

"HYDRO AND THE ST. LAWRENCE"

An Address by DR. THOMAS H. HOGG, C.E.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, April 11, 1940

The President: Gentlemen: We are indeed delighted at the excellent audience here to greet Dr. Hogg today, and it is a unique honour to welcome as our guest today, Dr. Hogg, whom I have known intimately almost from his graduation from the University of Toronto with the degree of B.A.Sc. in 1907.

Later, from the same university in 1912 he received the degree of C.E., and the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Engineering in 1927 for meritorius work. Shortly after his graduation he entered the employ of the Ontario Power Company under one of the most outstanding water power engineers in North America and obtained that groundwork that was to determine his latest career in engineering.

About the year 1912, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario obtained authority to proceed with the construction of its own water powers to meet the further demand of its power consumers in certain systems. Prior to this date all power had been purchased for the operation of the Hydro Systems at Niagara, the Severn, Ottawa and Fort William. This new departure necessitated the organization of a water power engineering branch under the direction of Dr. H. G. Acres and of which shortly afterwards, in 1913, Dr. Hogg became a member, later becoming Chief Assistant to the Hydraulic Engineer.

During this period the most important water power works of the Commission were constructed; first, the Wasdell and Eugenia, then the larger plants at Nipigon—120,000 horsepower in two plants—and the Queenston-Chippewa, 500,000 h.p., in all of which Dr. Hogg had an important part in engineering design.

Upon the resignation of Dr. Acres in 1924, Dr. Hogg became Chief Hydraulic Engineer. During this period, and with the authority of the Commision he held important retainers as Consulting Engineer for the Beauharnois, Manitoba Power Commission and on Government Boards, such as the Lake of the Woods Board, Lac Seul and others, including a Joint Board of Engineers on the St. Lawrence.

In 1934, Dr. Hogg became Acting Chief Engineer and later Chief Engineer of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, and in 1937, Chairman of that Government-appointed Commission, administering the largest and most successful municipally-owned Hydro-Electric undertaking in the world, which has been of such tremendous value and benefit to the people of Ontario, supplying power to over 700 municipalities under contract.

Indeed I have great pleasure in introducing to you at this time Dr. T. H. Hogg, whose address is entitled, "Hydro and the St. Lawrence". (Applause)

Dr. Thomas H. Hogg, C.E.: Dr. Gaby, Gentlemen: To the average citizen of Ontario and Canada, the St. Lawrence navigation and power project is a mammoth undertaking that has periodically appeared and disappeared from his field of notice, always without finality one way or the other. He is now surprised at its reappearance at a very critical period in Canadian history, when all our best energies are needed for a life or death war. His first question is: why would it not be best to defer any decision until after the war, when the re-establishment of returned soldiers will present a pressing social problem of great magnitude? He has noted with disquietude and alarm a great deal of anti-St. Lawrence propaganda warning him that it would saddle Canada with an enormous expense, running into many hundreds of millions of dollars. He is being told that the navigation project would be of little or no value and that Ontario has no need, either now or in the near future, for St. Lawrence power. Yet he knows that his Government has seriously considered entering into a St. Lawrence treaty with the United States. In the face of all this, is it any wonder that he stands bewildered and more than a little suspicious?

All my life I have been interested in power, the development of power and the power needs of communities. My primary interest in the St. Lawrence project is due to power. You will know how to take this into account as you listen to what I say. But do not forget that you, too, have a deep interest in this project. It concerns you vitally, both as it directly affects your local interests and as it affects the interests of Canada. Moreover, as Canadians, you need offer no apology for urging that Ontario's interests be very carefully considered, and for insisting upon the importance of a proper understanding of all aspects of this St. Lawrence project.

In some respects it is unfortunate that the official arguments in favour of the St. Lawrence project have not been put forward and cannot yet be put forward. For reasons which you can readily appreciate, the Dominion Government has necessarily kept silent and you have been dependent upon various analyses published by the newspapers and periodicals, very largely based upon the proposals made in 1932.

On the other hand, those who take a narrow and a selfish view and those who fear that their interests may be adversely affected have been loud and persistent in their clamour against the St. Lawrence project. Large sums of money have been spent for ingenious anti-St. Lawrence publicity. Although plausible, much of this deceptive propaganda collapses like a pricked balloon when subjected to careful study.

It is most regrettable that such propaganda appears to have been accepted in good faith and at face value by many newspapers and publications unaware of its fallacious character. In the absence of correct information it is perhaps natural that this should be so, but the distorted and erroneous conceptions which inevitably have arisen in the minds of the public in consequence of the untrue propaganda is none the less harmful.

With this in mind, I have decided to talk to you about the St. Lawrence project. I have no intention of discussing navigation in any detail, although I shall make some references to the combined navigation and power project as a whole. My primary and official concern is with power, and I shall begin with a brief review of the power demand of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, its growth and the resources available to meet future growth.

During the interval between the last war and this, the increase in industrial use of electricity in Ontario has been enormous. Thousands of factories have been established, technical processes have been developed, personnel has been trained, power equipment installed and a strong broad industrial base has been laid. On this broad base Ontario industry is capable of rapid expansion. But for the existence of this industrial foundation, the production of munitions and supplies vital for the war, in quantities that would have any significant effect upon the outcome, would be impossible.

Looking back to the last war, you will recall that notwithstanding the Commission's utmost efforts, a power shortage on the Niagara system occurred during 1917 and 1918. That shortage threatened to handicap vital industry at a time when the need for power was tragically urgent. It will be well to keep this in mind during this review of the resources of the Niagara system today.

The outlook has changed materially since the Quebec contracts issue was settled some two years ago. Who would have thought then, when so many declared we would never need the additional Quebec power, that we would today seriously question the adequacy of our Niagara System resources to meet the demands upon them beyond the early fall of 1942? This may seem almost unbelievable to those who regard the low rate of load growth during the early middle thirties as a reliable indication of the probable increase in future power demands and who were seriously impressed by the repeated assertions during that period that the quantity of power available under the Quebec power contracts exceeded the Commission's most optimistic requirements for many years to come. I may say I never took this view, and the facts do not support it.

First as to resources now available for growth. In December, 1939, our Niagara System power resources exceeded the demand for primary power including normal reserves by about 100,000 horsepower. In addition to this, the total quanties of power scheduled for future delivery under our Quebec contracts, including the last block of 20,000 horsepower due in November, 1944, aggregate 140,000 horsepower. The two combined amount to 240,000 horsepower and represent the total quantity of power resources available for growth in the Niagara System while preserving a working reserve.

As evidence of load growth, consider this: from December, 1929 to 1931, during the depths of the depression, there were substantial decreases in the Niagara System primary demand; from December, 1931 to 1935, small increases of less than 3 per cent per annum; from December, 1935 to 1938, larger increases, in the order of 5 or 6 per cent per annum. But, in December, 1939, our Niagara System primary load exceeded the peak of the previous year by 150,000 horsepower, a growth of 13 per cent. Last March (1940) the load growth over the previous March (1939) was 178,000 horsepower, over 17 per cent. A load increase of only 10 per cent per annum for two years over the primary load of December last, would mean that every resource of our Niagara System including the last block of Quebec power not due until 1944 would be needed to meet the demand for primary power as of December, 1941, while providing only a very moderate reserve for safety. Allowing for the growth of the Eastern Ontario and Georgian Bay systems which for a year or two will probably be supplied by transfer from the Niagara System, the working reserve will be wiped out entirely in December, 1941. Some of you may remember that for a period of eighteen years prior to the thirties, load increases of 10 per cent per annum were the order of the day. That such increases cannot go on forever no one doubts, but while war activity and industrial expansion continue, load increases of 10 per cent per annum would seem to be quite moderate.

Your guess as to how long the war will last is as good as mine. If it should continue for a number of years the need for substantial additional quantities of power in the very near future cannot be questioned. Considering the amazing growth in the mechanization of our military forces, and the great increase in numbers and complexity of modern weapons and the consequent complete dependence of military effort upon maximum factory production, the importance of adequate power resources, especially during the war, is generally recognized as established beyond question.

It was in 1932 that the advocates of the St. Lawrence development first appeared to have success almost within their grasp. After exhaustive study by national and international engineering bodies and lengthy negotiations between representatives of the governments of the two countries, a treaty designed to provide a basis for the undertaking was signed.

The treaty provided for the orderly improvement of the river sections of the waterway from the head of the Great Lakes to Montreal Harbour. It also provided for the immediate development of the water power in the international rapids section of the St. Lawrence River as an integral part of the comprehensive project; this international rapids development was to have been a joint undertaking for navigation and power.

At about the same time Canada and Ontario entered into an agreement under which the power on the Canadian side was to have been developed by the Province.

When submitted to the United States Senate, the 1932 treaty failed to receive ratification. In consequence it was never formally presented to the Parliament of Canada nor was the Canada-Ontario agreement submitted to the Provincial Legislature.

During 1937 the diversion of northern waters into the Great Lakes from Long Lac and the Ogoki River, and the exclusive use by Canada of waters so diverted all along the international boundary, from Lake Superior to the sea, received considerable attention and as a result the advantages of an international arrangement under which these international waters could be more effectively used to meet the needs in each country again came to the fore.

In May, 1938, Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State for the United States, put forward a comprehensive proposal for the settlement of problems on the entire Great

Lakes-St. Lawrence basin. Mr. Hull also submitted a draft treaty which provided, as before, for the construction of a deep waterway from Lake Superior to Montreal Harbour and, as before, for the development of power in the international rapids section of the St. Lawrence River.

Toward the latter part of 1939 discussion of the Hull proposals was opened between representatives of Canada and Ontario and early in January, 1940, negotiations between Canada and the United States commenced. Although there has been a lull in these negotiations, there is no doubt that Canada and the United States are in substantial agreement today and that the way to signing a new treaty is open.

In his letter to the Government of Canada (dated May 28, 1938) Mr. Cordell Hull summarized the provisions of the tentative draft treaty. "In brief", he said, "the proposed treaty would:

(a) enable the United States to go forward immediately with the International Rapids Section link in the proposed St. Lawrence deep waterway and the incidental power development;

(b) defer Canada's responsibility for completing its share of the waterway for a sufficient time to assure the readiness of the Ontario power market to absorb its share of the power;

(c) provide for an international commission to develop plans and advise the two governments in a programme to promote the most advantageous use of the entire Great Lakes-St. Lawrence resources;

(d) assure the immediate undertaking under the supervision of this commission of the proposed remedial works to preserve the scenic beauty of Niagara Falls;

(e) permit the Province of Ontario to go forward with its plans for diversions from the Albany River basin into the Great Lakes and utilize such additional water for power at Niagara;

(f) make available considerable additional Niagara power to each country for development at will; and

(g) enable the proposed commission to proceed immediately with the preparation of comprehensive plans for more efficient use of the resources of the Niagara River."

From an engineering standpoint, the development plans are perfectly sound. They also have the material advantage of being nearly $30,000,000 lower in cost than the plans upon which the 1932 treaty was based, while at the same time affording full protection for all the interests in the various sections of the St. Lawrence River. This saving, when equitably distributed among the four interested parties, materially benefits both Ontario and Canada.

In the unavoidable absence of official information upon any treaty which might be signed as a result of negotiations during recent months, we have no choice but to assume that the basis for the division of cost of the St. Lawrence project would not differ materially from the basis set out in the treaty of 1932. I have already pointed out the probability that there will be a saving of some $30,000,000 as compared with the 1932 plans, but in what follows that saving is entirely neglected.

Bear in mind that the St. Lawrence River development is a combined navigation and power project, and that the estimates for the International Rapids Section include the cost of works both for navigation and power. In the National Section of the river, which lies wholly within the Province of Quebec, works for power and for navigation may be undertaken either independently, or as a combined project. Though official estimates are available for each, only those estimates for the navigation project are here referred to, since the power projects would be independent self-liquidating undertakings.

Both the 1932 Treaty and the 1938 Draft Treaty specified that the United States would provide funds for all undertakings in the International Rapids Section, except those required for lands, rehabilitation, canals, locks, power house superstructures and equipment in Canada. Thus the United States would assume the cost of all works in the river, including the dam, equipped to control and regulate the flow of the river, and including all dredging. Thus the United States was ready to do in order to equalize the cost of the project. Canada has already expended many millions of dollars on the Welland Canal and elsewhere so that in order to finally arrive at an equal expenditure on the part of both nations, it was agreed that the United States would bear the greater part of the expense in the International Rapids Section and that Canada would complete the works in the purely national section in the Province of Quebec.

It might be argued, and with good reason, that on the basis of financial strength of the two governments, the total population of the two countries, and the use of the canal, the United States should pay much more than Canada but I think our people as a whole would like to feel that they are pulling their own weight and are in no way indebted to a good neighbour for any more assistance than should be provided by an equal partner.

In the International Rapids Section, which is estimated to cost a total of $274,000,000 for both Navigation and Power on both sides of the boundary, the actual gross out-of-pocket expenses incurred by Canada were:

(a)	For Land, rehabilitation, canals and Locks, (Federal Government)	$22,320,000.00
(b)	For Generating Stations (Ontario)	36,930,500.00
		$59,250,500.00

A total of $59,000,000.00. Oviously this low cost to Canada for work actually done in the International Rapids Section is due to the assumption of much larger expenditures by the United States in lieu of Canada's expenditures elsewhere. In this way Canada begins to secure the benefits of large expenditures already made, for which no return can now be secured.

Now, let us distinguish between all the obligations of the Federal Government of Canada and of the Government of Ontario which devolve upon the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

Ontario agreed to pay a fair price for the power benefits which would be derived from a dam, sluice gates for controlling and regulating the river, power-house substructures and channel improvements. As these works were provided at the expense of the United States in lieu of heavy expenditures made by the Canadian Federal Government it was only proper that Ontario's payment should go to the Federal Government. Under the 1932 proposals, $67,000,000 was agreed upon as the sum payable by Ontario to the Federal Government. As the total estimated cost to the Federal Government for work in the International Rapids Section was $22,000,000 it would have actually come out of the International Rapids Section, $45,000,000 to the good. This sum could have been applied to the cost of works in Quebec to which the Federal Government was committed.

Under the agreement, Ontario meant, in effect, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. Ontario's only uncontrollable obligation was the $67,000,000 payable to the Federal Government. This was a binding commitment. An additional total expenditure of $37,000,000 would be made in due course for the construction of generating stations, but this was controllable, and would be made on whatever schedule best suited Ontario's needs. In other words, all of the $37,000,000 for a generating station could be deferred as long as St. Lawrence power was not needed by Ontario and, of course, it could be expended unit by unit to produce power as required. All this without imposing burden of any kind upon Ontario taxpayers.

On completion of this controllable and gradual outlay, eventually totalling $37,000,000, Ontario would finally secure 1,100,000 horsepower at a capital cost of $95 per horsepower.

To visualize the obligations assumed by the Federal Government, we must examine the project as a whole, including not only the International Rapids Section which borders Ontario, but also the work in Quebec. The official figures for the 1932 proposals show the cost to the Federal Government of the work in Quebec as $83,000,000 and for work in Ontario, $22,000,000; a total of $105,000,000. Deducting the $67,000,000 payable by Ontario, the estimate of the Federal Government's out-of-pocket expense for the whole St. Lawrence River became $38,000,000.

However, it is well for us all to remember that all estimates are based upon unit costs for material, for labour, and for equipment. If, on account of direct or indirect inflation the actual unit costs should differ very materially from the estimated unit costs, it is highly probable that a corresponding variation would occur in the total cost of the project. But the increase or decrease in cost caused by such variation should be fractional only.

I must now refer, though with some measure of regret, to a pamphlet entitled "The St. Lawrence Project", published by W. T. Jackman, Professor of Transportation, University of Toronto, February, 1940, and printed at Review Company Printers, Fort Erie, Canada. Thousands of copies of this pamphlet have been printed and circulated and excerpts have been extensively quoted throughout Canada and the United States. Many well-meaning people have been influenced by the use of the name "University of Toronto", and many interested parties have seized upon that name for its propaganda value, yet I have a letter from the President of the University, informing me that the pamphlet "is not published or approved by the University in any way".

Having regard to Mr. Jackman's university affiliations and the great numbers of his pamphlets that were printed at Fort Erie and broadcast all over the North American Continent, it would be interesting to know whether he published it at his own expense as a personal contribution or whether it was sponsored by any person or organization and, if so, the name of such person or organization. Had this information been given, the pamphlet could not have been mistakenly presumed to be an official and hence an impartial publication of the University.

While I am sorry to criticize the work of a Canadian University Professor, I feel compelled to deal with this pamphlet because of grossly misleading and erroneous statements which it contains and because of an unjustified reference to the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

From the viewpoint of capital cost, the more serious errors in Mr. Jackman's pamphlet relate to power from the International Rapids Section. On page 6 of his pamphlet, Mr. Jackman says, "This would mean that in order to get 1,100,000 horsepower of electric energy, the Province of Ontario, which would receive all this power, should have to bear the cost of its production, that is $670,000,000." Mr. Jackman makes it clear on page 4 that he is considering only the "International section" and not "the full development of power and navigation down to Montreal".

As I have already indicated, Canada's net out-of-pocket expense for actual work in the International Rapids Section is $59,000,000. Under the 1932 proposals, Ontario's out-of-pocket expense for power is $104,000,000 which includes a payment of $67,000,000 to the Federal Government, a sum which is sufficient to pay for all of the Federal Government's work in the International Rapids Section and leave $45,000,000 to be applied to work in Quebec. But under Mr. Jackman's assumption that no work would be done in Quebec, what figure based upon official estimates have we to compare with his $670,000,000? I think all we can say is that such a figure would lie somewhere between $59,000,000 and $104,000,000.

Fantastic as this figure of $670,000,000 is, when compared with the official estimates, its origin is simple. It is largely the outcome of pyramiding error upon error. Let me give you a few examples.

First: Mr. Jackman assumes that half the cost of the work in the International Rapids Section is chargeable to Canada. As I have already pointed out, Canada was to pay very much less than half the total cost of the work.

Second: Mr. Jackman includes in his estimate the cost of interest during construction. Although this is not usual in Government estimates, I have no quarrel with the inclusion of interest if correctly calculated. But in his calculation of interest Mr. Jackman has used an approximate method based on a much longer construction period than that clearly set out in the schedule included in the official report and he asumes a uniform rate of expenditure throughout. His interest calculations are $35,000,000 on the high side.

Third: To the foregoing Mr. Jackman adds $100,000,000 for Canada's share of work in or above Lake Ontario, which does not appear in the Official estimates, and he assumes that the cost of this work should be charged to power.

Is it reasonable to suppose that large sums of money would be spent for navigation in and above Lake Ontario as well as in the International Rapids Section while omitting work in Quebec that would make through traffic possible? If such navigation work were deemed to be advisable, why should it be charged to power in the International Rapids Section?

Fourth: Mr. Jackson multiplies his swollen figures by 2½, because the official estimate, although prepared by a Board of competent engineers, after exhaustive study and having before them unlimited data, was, in his opinion, not high enough. As plausible justification of this procedure, he cites the increase in cost of certain major engineering works, disregarding factors such as enlargement of the project during construction and neglecting all the many other undertakings on which the costs were consistent with the estimated figures. It is my considered opinion that if this work were to be reestimated on the basis of present-day unit costs, the figures would be lower rather than higher. Since the preparation of the estimates, great advances have been made both in methods and equipment employed on undertakings of this nature, which should result in reduced costs in carrying out this project.

Aside from the question of the adequacy of the official estimates for navigation work, there is another absurdity due to the indiscriminate application by Mr. Jackman of his correction factor. Mr. Jackman has not only multiplied legitimate items of cost by 2½, but he has also multiplied his errors, for he has made large items, included in error, 2½ times larger than they were originally.

He has also multiplied by 2½, large and readily predictable items such as the cost of generating stations proper;

by this I mean the buildings and apparatus, exclusive of the dam and main hydraulic works. It is well known that generating stations are almost invariably constructed at a cost that is in reasonable agreement with the estimates.

By these and other means Mr. Jackman contrives to "blow up" the official figures for the work in the International Rapids Section to $670,000,000 and he says that all this work should be charged to power. Mr. Jackman assumes that nothing whatever would be spent within the Province of Quebec to complete the navigation link to the sea, and, as I have indicated, the official figures for the work chargeable to power on this basis would lie somewhere between $59,000,000 and $104,000,000, depending upon what sum was paid by Ontario to the Federal Government. Bear in mind that his figures include huge amounts to be spent for navigation above the International Rapids Section, specified by himself and not by the Board. To turn Mr. Jackman's own adjectives against himself, truly his figures are "grossly perverted, absurd and grotesque".

(Applause)

When evaluating the weight which should be given to the official estimates as compared with some of the biased propaganda, do not lose sight of the fact that over the years a great many national and international boards have been convened and reconvened to study the St. Lawrence navigation and power development and every one of those official national and international bodies have reported in favour of the project. An enormous amount of data has been accumulated, sifted and weighed. It is probably safe to say that no project has been more exhaustively and painstakingly studied by the most qualified persons available.

Remember, too, that while the works to be carried out in the International Rapids Section are of a large order, they are not of unusual magnitude when compared with recent undertakings that have been conceived and launched while the St. Lawrence project remained under consideration. Nor are the uncertainties of the St. Lawrence project greater than other large projects which have been successfully completed during the same period of time.

What interest, you may ask, has the Hydro-Electric Power Commission in the St. Lawrence project?

It is quite evident that this development cannot be classed as a war measure, for even if it were undertaken tomorrow, it would be six or seven years before it could become of use. Yet the project is persistently misrepresented as a war measure which, far from helping, would actually handicap war work. Since Canada's expenditure during the war would be small—I was going to say almost negligible—this is untrue. As to the aftermath of the war, by entering into a treaty now, there is every reason to feel that the project will be of great social value as an aid toward the rehabilitation of returned soldiers. It seems to me this is a factor of prime importance.

I want to make it quite clear that the Commission is not yet wholly dependent upon the early development of the St. Lawrence for its additional power supplies. There are substantial power resources on the Ottawa River which can probably be made available more quickly than the St. Lawrence, but they involve interprovincial agreements with the Province of Quebec and the purchase by the Commission of Quebec's share of the power available from any given site.

From the point of view of immediate supplies that might be required during the course of a protracted war there is one rather important advantage which would be secured through a St. Lawrence agreement. It opens the way to the use at Niagara or at DeCew Falls of water that can now be diverted from the Long Lac and that could be diverted from the Ogoki within a period of about two years. The Ogoki water could also be used on the Nipigon. In addition, the St. Lawrence agreement would almost certainly make available additional water for power at Niagara, quite independently of these northern diversions. That water could be used immediately for the production of additional energy from the Commission's existing plants at Niagara by operating them more continuously than at present and, when needed, it would make possible a 200,000 horsepower peak power development at DeCew Falls or another base power development at Niagara Falls.

What we must know, and must know soon, is whether or not the St. Lawrence is to go ahead at once. Our plans for the next five or six years will be very different in the one case from the other, and we must have a decision that will enable those plans to be laid within a very few months. This is the crux of the whole situation so far as I and my colleagues are concerned.

Now, a word about the negotiations at Ottawa and Washington which have been misrepresented; my part in them might easily be misunderstood, yet it is very simple. It has been to furnish engineering information, to help explore possible engineering compromises essential to agreement, and to help reconcile divergent engineering and economic views. Any pressure from me has been for a decision as to whether or not to proceed; never for a particular decision, either affirmative or negative.

Notwithstanding all this, there may be many people who would question the wisdom of inaugurating so great an undertaking as the St. Lawrence project at this time. That viewpoint is understandable, but there are circumstances under which action must be taken at the time when it is possible to take it.

Where there are four parties to any agreement and a fifth that must be considered, it may be difficult to find a time that is ideally suited to all. This project that involves Canada and the United States, New York State and the Province of Ontario as active participants, with Quebec as a very interested one, has been fraught with all sorts of difficulty, political and otherwise. Where three of the four participants are ready, and where the fourth believes in the soundness of the project, surely the occasion may be said to be opportune. If it were not for the war we should scarcely hesitate; if we wait, other even more formidable obstacles may arise.

I believe the St. Lawrence navigation and power project to be essentially sound. I believe also that if an expenditure —I want you to get this point—of approximately $38,000,000 by Canada were needed to remove an obstruction in the way of 35 ft. navigation from Quebec to Montreal, it would be forthcoming overnight. Since 1925 at least

$45,000,000 have been spent on this channel between Quebec and Montreal, in addition to $26,000,000 previously expended. I believe that Canada need have no great hesitation about making a $38,000,000 expenditure to bring 27 ft. navigation from Montreal to Lake Superior. I think that argument is unanswerable.

As a last word let me again remind you of the amounts of money involved according to the official estimates under the 1932 proposals. The Federal Government would be obligated for navigation works in the International River Section to the extent of only $22,000,000, of which little would be spent during the war. Navigation in Quebec would cost $83,000,000 more, none of which would be spent during the war. Thus the total cost of work to be done by the Federal Government would be $105,000,000. From this sum $67,000,000 contributed by Ontario in lieu of power advantages secured in the International Section must be deducted. This leaves a net out-of-pocket cost to the taxpayers of Canada of $38,000,000.

In addition to the $67,000,000 which the Hydro-Electric Power Commission would pay the Federal Government on behalf of Ontario, the Commission would expend approximately $37,000,000 for its own generating stations, making a total of $104,000,000, of which the $37,000,000 would be expended unit by unit as and when power needs make it advantageous to do so. None of this money would be secured by taxation.

Again let me point out that all these figures neglect any possible effect of inflation.

With these figures firmly in your mind, I do not think you will be led far astray by those who search for means of confusing and distorting the issues involved in the St. Lawrence project, rather than seeking to present the true facts and information in proper perspective so that Canadians, interested in the general advantages of Canada, may safely draw their own conclusions.

I have studied the St. Lawrence development project very closely over a period of twenty-five years. During all that time my work and my viewpoint have been closely identified with power requirements in Ontario. This may unconsciously handicap me in appraising the project in terms of the general interest of Canada. Be that as it may, though I am not an active advocate, yet I am satisfied that Canada would make no mistake in joining with the United States in the development of the St. Lawrence River for power and navigation. (Applause—prolonged)

The President: Gentlemen: I am sure you will all agree with me that we are very much indebted on this occasion to Dr. Hogg for his very capable address and the very lucid manner in which he has cleared up many of the erroneous statements that are being made with regard to this project at this time, and at a time when this question is of such importance to Ontario.

We are indeed honoured today by the presence of many distinguished guests who have played an important part in the development and progress of the Hydro-Electric System. We had expected to have present today Sir William Hearst, but he was unable to be present. We have with us the Honourable Howard Ferguson, and the Honourable George Henry, but we are sorry to say that the Honourable Mitchell Hepburn was unable to be here today. However, these gentlemen have all played their part in the development of Hydro. We have also with us today as our guest, a man who has been actively furthering the policies of Hydro for over thirty-five years, as Secretary of the Ontario Municipal Electric Asociation—Mr. T. J. Hannigan, the grand old man of Hydro. We have also other distinguished guests who, owing to the lateness of the hour, I will not mention on this occasion, but who are interested in engineering and in other organizations that are furthering the interests of Ontario in these power projects.

Referring again, and I hope you will bear with me for a minute, to the excellent address of Dr. Hogg, dealing with the development of the St. Lawrence in relation to the necessary power demands of Ontario, what has been said sounds to me like a triumphant sequel to the great work of that fine Canadian, Sir Adam Beck. No one knows more than I do of the aims and goal of the many years of service and determined efforts in planning the future policies of the Hydro, which were uppermost in his mind to the last.

He never gave up hope of the attainment of the objectives he had visualized as necessary to complete the work so that it would be unassailable and give maximum service and benefit to the people of Ontario.

During the last few months of his life, when he tried so strenuously to come back, although we felt it hopeless, I found on many visits to John Hopkins Hospital and later to his home, that his uppermost thoughts were on the matters that were to be done to obtain for Ontario the rights to its water powers on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers and in Northern Ontario, so as to extend their development to include all of Ontario North, as well as East and West.

Now Mr. Ferguson, who is present, no doubt remembers the many occasions when I carried messages to him from Sir Adam Beck emphasizing the importance of obtaining for Ontario the rights to these developments, by appeals and protests to the Federal Government in Ontario's interest.

To make way for this policy, as early as 1923, when there was only a 60,000 horsepower load on the 500,000 horsepower development at Queenston, he authorized offers to Quebec power interests for the purchase of power of sufficient quantity to justify economically the construction of a transmission line to the Ottawa River, for in this way, it was believed prior claims to the rights to water power developments on the Ottawa and St. Lawrence would be assured to the people of Ontario.

At his death in 1925, the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence water powers were all owned by private interests and the Federal Government, and it was not until after the first contract for power had been negotiated with a Quebec corporation that franchises were terminated and agreements made, recognizing the right of Ontario to share in these developments.

This occurred in 1926 by a tri-party agreement, assuring to Ontario its share of the rights at the Carillon Development on the Ottawa River, at which time agreements were negotiated but never executed for the joint development of this power, and in 1927, by the termination of the franchise rights of the Georgian Bay Canal Company on the Ottawa River.

In 1930, by Ontario rights to the development of the Chats Falls and its joint development with a Quebec corporation, and in 1932, by the negotiating of an agreement with the Federal Government recognizing the rights of Ontario to the development of power jointly with navigation on the St. Lawrence River, strenuous efforts were made to obtain under many difficulties the rights on these rivers.

As Dr. Hogg has so very fully explained, the present status of the agreements for the development of the St. Lawrence, are the outcome of many negotiations over a period of 25 years, in an endeavour to obtain fully for Ontario the power rights on the St. Lawrence and at the same time on other rivers within its domain and on its boundaries.

I am sure we have listened with a great deal of interest to this excellent address by Dr. Hogg and on behalf of the Empire Club, I extend to you our warmest thanks and appreciation for your splendid address. (Applause)

"WHAT IS THIS BUSINESS OF CONDUCTING?"

AN ADDRESS BY MR. REGINALD STEWART

Chairman: Mr. W. E. Humphreys

Thursday, April 18, 1940

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with considerable regret that I have to tell you that Dr. Gaby could not be here today, owing to having been called away to Ottawa on very urgent business. Dr. Gaby was particularly sorry not to be here to greet his lady guests for we all too infrequently have the ladies present. However, Dr. Gaby asked me to tell you that he would be with us in spirit, even though he is really some three hundred miles away.

It is with great pleasure that I have the honour of introducing Mr. Reginald Stewart, a distinguished pianist and talented conductor of the Toronto Promenade Symphony Orchestra.

Mr. Stewart was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, and his career has been divided between the piano and the baton. In 1919, he became Conductor of the Canadian Operatic Society; in 1921, the Director of Music at Hart House, Universtiy of Toronto; and in the same year, pianist of the Hambourg Trio.

In 1925, he gave his first London, England, recital and subsequently conducted the London Symphony Orchestra at Albert Hall. His American debut as pianist was in the Town Hall, New York City, on March 6th, 1937, which was received with enthusiastic acclaim. Seven years ago Mr. Stewart founded the Toronto Promenade Symphony Orchestra, and has conducted almost two hundred concerts for this organization, whose excellent performances and interpretations of classical music give so much enjoyment to those who are in the City during the summer months. (Applause)

Mr. Stewart has also conducted the famous B.B.C. Orchestra in England, the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, and the National Symphony Orchestra at Washington. During February of this year, he directed three concerts on the well known hour on Sunday evening.

I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Reginald Stewart, whose subject will be, "What is this business of Conducting?" (Applause)

MR. REGINALD STEWART: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Each of you probably at some time or another has heard a Symphony Concert and wondered what lies behind what you see and hear. I have been asked to lift the curtain today and describe to you the functions of a conductor. There are other sujects about which I should prefer to talk. I don't suppose anyone really enjoys talking about his own job to a mixed audience, many of whom are doing in their own particular line of endeavour, work which is of much greater importance to the common weal than one's own. Also, of course, there is the difficulty of a professional being able to view his work with sufficient detachment to be able to make an exposition of it which will be clear to the layman. I understand that business life is well represented in this Club, and if you will forgive me for the occasional lapse into technicalities, I shall try to explain to you what is this business of conducting.

The business man usually has to deal with three elements: his material, his means of promoting that material and the market which he endeavours to reach. Now, the Conductor has to deal with the same three elements: his material is the music which the composer has written; his means are a group of instumentalists, known collectively as an orchestra; and his market is the public in the concert halls or seated around the radios in their own homes.

The Conductor's function is to select the most suitable material, perfect its production with the best available means, and project it to the largest possible market.

It is my purpose to discuss the relationship of the conductor to these three elements, the material, the means and the market. First, let us look at the material with which he must work. There comes into a man's head a succession of notes, somewhere, sometime. It may be to a Stephen Foster, as he dreams of his "Jeanie with the light brown hair", or it may be to a Brahms, as he works on a new symphony in his study. Now, the simple little tune, "Jeanie with the light brown hair" would not be very attractive if it had not harmonic accompaniment, so, the, shall we say, naked tune is clothed with agreeable harmony, it is developed and extended until the song is complete. In the case of a symphony, new work is produced. This is what we might call the raw material. It is written in manuscript by the hand of the composer. Drudgery of the most wearisome sort.

If the work is to be played by a symphony orchestra, the composer must next determine which instruments are to play the various themes and harmonies, and he must write out all the notes for each instrument. Consider for a moment what a tremendous task that is. He prepares what is called a full score on which the notes for each instrument are written on a separate line. Copyists are then brought in to copy out for each instrumentalist his part, putting in not only the notes but his rest periods, expression marks, dynamics, and so on. It might be said that a sheet of music is nothing more or less than a schedule of instructions, specifications and detailed drawings such as an architect might give to a building contractor and which if followed explicitly should produce in actual form what has hitherto existed only in the imagination of the architect.

To carry the simile a little farther, the building contractor hands out to each of his tradesmen or workers, instruction sheets, covering his particular part of the work, while reserving for himself the blue print and specifications of the whole, by means of which he is able to supervise and correct the work of the individual while bringing into one harmonic whole the varying activities of the bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, electricians, and so on.

The general contractor in the case corresponds to the conductor of the orchestra, whose function it is to see that the various instruments are brought in at their proper place and time with the desired colour and accent, in accordance with the effect that the composer or musical architect has drawn up. But, whereas the building contractor's work may be said to be done and done well by a faithful adherence to instructions and specifications, he is dealing after all with material substances, fixed forms. The conductor's work would be poorly done indeed if he merely saw to it that instructions were accurately carried out. Music is spiritual, rather than material. It exists in actual form only as it is sounded forth. When the vibrations have died away the music ceases to exist. Yet it can be recreated again and again, if not in actuality, in the heart and mind of those who remember it and love it. Because of the immaterial nature of music it is not capable of fixed definition in its performance, but it is fluid, adjustable, elastic in the hands of the performer. The notes played may be identical in two performances, yet one will reveal depths of emotion, while the other leaves us cold and unmoved. The good orchestral conductor must grasp the feeling of a composition and so convey it to his players as to imbue them with its moods. If he is successful in this, the audience also will respond, will feel the vitality of the performance in its impact upon their own sensibilities and will temporarily subject their own feelings and moods to the feelings of the music. Hector Berlioz, the great composer and conductor has this to say:

"The orchestral conductor should see and hear; he should be active and vigorous, should know the composition and the nature and compass of the instruments, should be able to read the score and possess—beside the especial talent of which we shall presently endeavour to explain the constitution qualities—other indefinable gifts, without which an invisible link cannot establish itself between him and those he directs; otherwise the faculty of transmitting to them his feelings is denied him. He is then no longer a conductor, a director, but a simple beater of time—supposing he knows how to beat it, and divide it, regularly.

"The performers should feel that he feels, comprehends, and is moved; then his emotion communicates itself to those whom he directs, his inward fire warms them, his electric glow animates them, his force of impulse excites them; he throws around him the vital irradiations of musical art. If he is inert and frozen, on the contrary, he paralyzes all about him, like those floating masses of the polar seas, the approach of which is sensed through the sudden cooling of the atmosphere."

The conductor stands between the composer and the performer as an interpreter of the composer's message. On his interpretation of that message depends the virility and significance of the performance, granted he has an orchestra possessing adequate ability to realize his conception of the work.

By far the greater proportion of the music now being played by symphony orchestras was composed by men who have long since passed from this earthly scene. They are not able to express themselves as to whether their music is being correctly rendered. We might be shocked if we were to hear how they would conduct their own works if they could come back from the dead and perform them today. They might take far greater liberties than any other conductor would risk taking.

A few days ago Stravinsky conducted a performance of one of his own works with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. The next morning, Mr. Olin Downes of the New York *Times,* while praising the concert, criticized Mr. Stravinsky on the ground that many times during the work he completely ignored his own markings of expression in the score. If any other conductor had dared to do that he would have been hung, drawn and quartered by the critics the next morning for irreverence and disrespect of the composer's intention.

When Toscanini conducted his first performance of *"Bolero"* by *Ravel* in Paris, the composer was in the audience. Toscanini apparently conducted the work at a much quicker tempo than the composer intended and the members of the audience were amazed to see the composer becoming more and more agitated as the performance went on. Eventually, Ravel rose in anger and rushed to the back of the stage where he met Toscanini and said to him, "What do you mean by ruining my music? Don't you know this is a bolero and not a waltz?", and he proceeded to dance for Toscanini and show how impossible it would be to dance a bolero at the speed at which Toscanini played the work. To which Mr. Toscanini replied simply, "That is the way I feel the work. I am sorry if you don't like it." But they never spoke again.

Speaking of the tempo of the composer's work reminds me of the experience I had only a few weeks ago on this tour which I have just completed in the United States. I played a piece, a very famous piece of Ravel's, called "Jeux d'eau". I took the occasion to mention to the audience that this was music quite different from anything I had played before, it was music in which the composer described the voices of nature, the fountains playing in the garden, the leaves rustling in the trees—atmospheric music. After I had finished playing, a woman came up and said, "Oh, Mr. Stewart, I enjoyed your playing so much! You know, it was so atmospheric that some of the notes smelled!" Which I hope was a compliment!

So much for the conductor's relation to the composer—to the material with which he has to work.

Again reverting to busines terminology, let us consider the conductor's relationship to the "Means" by which the "Material" is produced for consumption by the "Market".

The best material in the world can be ruined in process by faulty production methods, inaccurate workmanship. Where proper standards are a matter of common knowledge it is very difficult to obtain a market for an inferior product. A successful manager of a business must know his standards and he must be able to insist on an adherence to them on the part of his staff. Likewise, a good conductor must have the utmost co-operation of skilled instrumentalists if his productions are to be successful in commanding audiences, satisfying as to size and revenue. Even on the part of diligent players there will sometimes appear to be a tendency to sag from the high level of performance required. These are days of terrific competition in the musical field, especially over the radio where the public is listening to the finest musical organizations continually. The conductor must have good players and must be in a position to insist on good playing.

If a conductor is persistent in his efforts toward an even better performance, the artistic standards of his organization are bound to rise—though not without pain and difficulty. There are almost certain to be some hard feelings in the process. In fact, a conductor's life seems to be the meeting of one crisis after another.

Before the conductor mounts the podium to open the programme he will have rehearsed every piece thoroughly. Usually the period devoted to rehearsal is about five times as long as the playing time of the pieces performed, i.e., for an average programme of one hour and a half of actual music, there should be about seven and one-half hours of rehearsal. It is at these rehearsals, usually in periods of two or two and one-half hours at a stretch, that the real work of conducting is done. Here, literally as well as figuratively, we take off our coats, roll up our shirt sleeves, and dig in. Before the rehearsal starts there has been individual preparation also. Any instrumentalist who wants to keep at the peak of his form must practise constantly and the conductor will have spent hours studying carefully the score, refreshing his mind as to possible "danger spots", and marking such places as called for special attention.

When something goes wrong, such as an incorrect note, a mis-timed entry or an uneven balance of tone, the conductor taps the stand with his stick, all playing ceases, the difficulty is explained, the troublesome part is played over, perhaps several times to put it in order, the conductor looks back over the score for a convenient restarting point usually denoted by a letter of the alphabet) calls out, say "Letter C", raises his stick and leads them on to run smoothly over the fractious passage and sweep on to the next hurdle.

Bit by bit the whole work is covered rather in the same way the tire repair man goes over an inner tube, inch by inch, for punctures and incipient breaks, satisfying himself that all the holes have been mended and friction points smoothed out.

Rehearsals are generally paid for on a time basis, therefore the amount of time available must be used to the best advantage. The conductor has to keep a careful eye on the clock and make every minute count. If he is not watchful, his rehearsal time may be unduly absorbed upon one or two items and little or no time left available for the remainder of the programme.

The conductor must know exactly how every part of the music should sound and precisely what may be expected of any player. He should have a working knowledge of every instrument and should be familiar with its range, complexities and idiosyncrasies.

Proper balance of sound is one of the conductor's chief concerns. At times important themes may easily become obscured by a mass of harmonic or contrapuntal detail. Certain parts must be kept to the fore, sometimes so gently as barely to project them above the rest of the music. Another point requiring constant care is that the inner voices are not too subdued, but that every instrumental voice that should be heard comes through crystal clear. Good players, accustomed to playing together, can help tremendously in obtaining the proper balance by listening to their nieghbours while playing their own parts and enlarging or subduing their own tones to conform to the requirements of the whole.

Finally, it goes without saying that the orchestra must be in tune. The slightest deviation from true pitch is most distressing. It is generally the concert-master's duty to direct the tuning-up of the orchestra. This is usually attended to before the entry of the conductor. Sir Henry J. Wood of London was for a time so obsessed with the idea of getting absolute accuracy of pitch from his orchestra that he used to have each player present himself privately to him in his room before the rehearsal began. He used a special tuning device and each player sounded his "A". The orchestra men became a little "fed up" with the practice and one day they played a prank on Sir Henry. The thirty-five violinists of the orchestra each went before Sir Henry to be "tuned" and as each player left the room he turned over the same violin to the next violinist who came in, and the violin was very seriously tuned by Sir

Henry Wood— the same violin. The same instrument was therefore tuned thirty-five times by Sir Henry who was entirely oblivious to the joke.

Then there was the story of the village quartette in which the first violinist was the lord of the manor and the other three members were trades people of the village, the butcher, the baker and the postman. After one particularly bad performance by the quartette the three underlings got together in a corner and said, "Look, what are we going to do about this? His Lordship's "E" string has slipped, he is playing terribly out of tune and he doesn't seem to know anything about it." Nobody wanted to approach him but eventually the butcher was appointed to do so. He went up very timidy to the great man, "Your Lordship, I hate to mention this; your "E" string appears to have slipped." His Lordship said, "Really", and he took the violin, pulled the "E" string a little and said, "Oh, no, that is as tight as I usually have it."

Now, as to the final element, "Markets". You have all, of course, noted a great improvement in musical appreciation and interest at concerts. This is due to the radio and phonograph and also to the increased attention to music in the schools. The younger generation knows much more about music than the older one, and eighty-five per cent of the people who attend our Promenade Symphony Concerts are under the age of thirty. I am constantly being amazed by the intelligent remarks and letters I receive. It seems to me that the barrier which used to exist between artist and audience is gradually being removed. You know, I have always felt that we musicians, ourselves, were to blame for that barrier. The man on the street has always taken the attitude: Oh, Beethoven, Bach, Brahms—these are composers I could never hope to understand. They are for the academicians. It is no use my going to hear concerts.

And the musician, I am afraid, has rather enjoyed the feeling of superiority such an attitude has created. He went his own way, playing on his programmes only music he himself, after his twenty-five years of study, enjoyed, forgetting all about the man who was hearing music for the first or second time. He consoled himself for his small audiences by the fact or the thought, at least, that music could only be for the select few.

That last legend has taken a good deal of breaking down. After all, why should music be only for those who can afford high prices of admission? For only those who can come in stuffed shirts and the family jewels to hear great music? We know, of course, in the 17th and 18th century music was supported by kings and princes and was reserved by them for a select group of their friends. The great mass of the public very seldom heard an orchestra, but we have travelled far since then. People realize that music is a common heritage and they will come to hear performances if they are good, and if they can hear them at reasonable prices, by which I mean the price of the movie. Which means, of course, larger halls to seat larger audiences at lower prices of admission. This is the prospect for the future.

After all, music was written not only for musicians, but for the masses. Most conductors, I think, realize a sense of responsibility to the people generally, to see that their heritage is given to them. As I see it, a conductor's efforts might well be devoted to creating and sustaining within his own community a love for the beautiful and true, as expressed in music. If he succeeds in this he will not have lived in vain, even although composers' names are written in granite and interpreters' names are but engraved in sand. With these thoughts he may fortify himself when he is discouraged. He can, I hope, with truth assure himself that this business of conducting is indeed good business for the community. (Loud applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I omitted to tell you in my introductory remarks that Mr. Stewart is going to play for us now. . . . At this juncture Mr. Stewart delighted his audience by playing several numbers on the piano . . .

THE CHAIRMAN: I know you want me to thank Mr. Stewart on your behalf. Your rapt attention to his most informative address is self-evident. I should like to say, however, in conveying your thanks to Mr. Stewart, that he has offered his services to the Canadian Government in any capacity whatsoever, such as entertaining troops, gratuitous concerts for the Red Cross, and so on.

Mr. Stewart, you will, I am sure, accept our thanks for your very informative address and your beautiful performance. I am going to ask the audience whether you would like Mr. Stewart to give you, if he would, one more piano selection. (Applause) We make it a point to adjourn these meetings promptly and if there are any who have appointments they may go now. . . . Mr. Stewart played an additional number for his audience, after which the meeting adjourned . . .

"WHY BRITAIN STILL LEADS"

AN ADDRESS BY DR. J. WESLEY BREADY, PH.D.

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

Thursday, April 25, 1940

THE PRESIDENT: I have a great deal of pleasure in introducing to you today an experienced and noted lecturer, Dr. J. Wesley Bready, who is an explorer of social and industrial relationships with an international reputation. He has been the recipient of many honours: B.A. from Queen's University; B.D. from Toronto University; M. A. from Columbia University.

Dr. Bready has travelled extensively throughout the Dominion and his interest in sociology has become his chief life work. This caused him to move to Great Britain in 1920 and one result of his work there was the award of Doctor of Philosophy from London University, upon the recommendation of the famous historian, George Macauley Trevelyan, O.M.

In addition to his many lecture tours, he is also an author of note, and among his books are *Lord Shaftesbury and Social-Industrial Progress,* first edition in 1926; *Dr. Barnardo: Physician, Pioneer, Prophet,* first edition in 1930: and *England before and After Wesley,* published a year ago and already in a fifth edition. The last mentioned was chosen as a "Book of the Month" in England in 1939. He is a true Imperialist and a firm believer in the perpetuity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I take much pleasure in introducing Dr. J. Wesley Bready, whose address is entitled, "Why Britain Still Leads." (Applause)

DR. J. WESLEY BREADY, PH.D.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Before grappling with my subject, allow me to express my warm appreciation of the honour bestowed upon me in inviting me to address this august Club, whose purpose is the true service of a liberty-loving, liberty-mediating and liberty-defending Empire.

My only apology for speaking from this platform is that as a Canadian born, I have had the privilege of spending some seventeen years of historical research in those glorious Islands I love to call the Mother Country. Those years, moreover, afforded me the privilege—a great privilege—of interpreting the lives of three of the noblest sons of the Empire, of three, I think, of the most truly noble sons of the modern world: John Wesley, Lord Shaftesbury, the mighty social reformer, and Dr. Barnardo, "the Father of Nobody's Children". This study and these years of sojourn in the Mother Country have made me realize as never before could I have realized, the debt of the whole world to the liberty-loving and liberty-spreading spirit of the British Empire.

Well, Gentlemen, we meet in troubled times. Today, over the face of the earth, liberty is being threatened. Today, freedom, justice, righteousness, truth, mercy and religion are on the defensive. Blustering, bullying and brutal forces in the form of totalitarian states are rampant. Everywhere the armies and the emissaries of the totalitarian states are striving, ruthlessly, to trample to death the spirit of liberty—yea, some of us believe of civilization itself.

Tyrannies, however, are no new thing in this old world's history. Military, political, academic, economic and even religious tyrannies have had their day and ceased to be; but never, perhaps, has the world been threatened with such a tyranny—so gruesome, so repulsive, so soulless—as that inherent in the ideologies of these modern totalitarian states, these states that would coerce initiative and suppress freedom.

The other day I ran across some humorous lines which to me were suggestive. I pass them on:

Germany's Reichstag has met once more,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"
To hear the speech it has heard before,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"

It has no voice and it has no views,
It just comes in on the chorus ques,
With the only word it's allowed to use,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"

Deputies "Heil", and click their heels,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"
Quite as human as well-trained seals,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"

Hitler herring, without their roes,
Hitler "yes-men", without their "No's",
Hitler's clack for his one-man shows,
"Ja!" says the Reichstag, "Ja!"

(Applause)

There you are, Gentlemen. Sometimes humour comes close to truth.

In this skit surely is reflected the world's arch-tragedy today. Not only Germany and her vassal states, but Russia, Italy and Japan are flattened under the steam roller of a "Ja! Ja!" system of military dictation. In these countries all creative debate is silenced; all consciences are coerced; all non-conformity to official tyranny is muzzled. Hence, free people today, the world over, are looking increasingly to Britain for guidance, leadership and defence.

This brings me to my central theme: why does Britain still lead? Why, on all sides, are the forces of liberty and conscience assembling beneath her banner and behind her shield?

In answering this question I know there are some who simply would say that the British people *by nature* are so uniquely endowed with balance, graciousness, good sportsmanship and the love of liberty, that they are comparatively free of the Old Adam, and therefore predestined to world leadership. Now, that the land of Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton and Cromwell was possessed of a more-than-ordinary instinct for liberty, fair play and decency, who will deny? Nevertheless, to suggest that the British people are by nature superior to all others and that in an unbroken and, as it were, apostolic succession, they have been the mediators of justice, freedom and integrity, is surely to do violence to the facts of history and to betray truth. Britain's record is such that we can afford to be both frank and fair.

To three eras in modern British history I now invite your attention: First, the era of moral and spiritual eclipse; and that we must admit. Secondly, the era of moral and spiritual rebirth. Thirdly, the era of epic reform.

The first of these three eras we must needs treat frankly, if briefly. The second we shall centre in the life of an incomparable spiritual leader, a Briton to the bone. A discussion of the third is utterly essential to any understanding of the heritage of conscience, vision and achievement which the British Empire at this moment is guarding and defending for all liberty-loving peoples the world over. (Applause)

We proceed, then, to the first of these three specified periods, the era of moral and spiritual eclipse. The late 17th and early 18th century in England is designated in the *Cambridge Modern History* as—"an age of materialism, a period of dim ideals and expiring hopes." It is a sad picture.

This was the age when the slave trade was dominating England's economic and financial life and Britain, following the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, rejoiced in gaining the lion's share of that nefarious traffic. This age of "expiring hopes" was also the age of gin-drunkenness. In the large cities—London, Bristol, Norfolk—hundreds of public houses hung out signs, "Drunk for a Penny; Dead Drunk 2 pence; Free Straw."

It was the age, too, we must tdmit, of South Sea Bubble finance, of Whig oligarchy politics, with its shameless corruption; the age of incredible child neglect. It was the age of shallow brilliance and tinsel show. Like most charlatan eras of history that put on airs it called itself "the Age of Reason and Naturalism". In reality, it was the age of Rationalistic Materialism and Futilitarian Fatalism. Pope was but expressing the *Zeitgeist* of that era when he wrote, "One truth is clear, whatever is, is right." Of course that included the slave trade. It included the rotten politics of that period. It included the right of a sceptical, cynical clique to domineer over the vast outcast multitudes of working England in that day.

Mandeville, in his *Fable of the Bees* was more outspoken than Pope. He dared to write, "To make society happy it is necessary that great numbers should be wretched as well as poor."

This swashbuckling paganism was, as we shall soon see, checked and defeated in England by an unparalleled revival of vital, practical Christianity. But ere passing to that Baptism of Fire, it is significant to note that Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire had all lived in this Deistic England. They all had been feted by the smart sceptical set and they carried back to France this species of Deism called Rationalistic Naturalism, or more accurately, Rationalistic Materialism, and there it finally issued in the holocaust and bloodshed, known as the "Reign of Terror."

From France this same Humanistic Paganism travelled to Germany and there issued in Nietzsche's Power Politics that expressed themselves finally in Prussian Militarism. Nietzsche, himself, incidentally, died in a mad-house.

Later, when Economics was to the fore, Karl Marx took the same Atheistic Materialism, and dressing it up in the so-called "philosophy" of Communism, created the vitriolic propaganda which issued in that spiritual monstrosity, Bolshevik Russia.

Well, Gentlemen, that is a sorry period of History. It is with joy we pass on to the second part of our subject—the era of England's moral and spiritual rebirth. Now, we will see a different country from the England in that age of the slave trade and rotten politics.

I invite you to return now to the *Cambridge Modern History*. We see that this great history characterized the foregoing age as an "age of materialism, dim ideals and expiring hopes." Thank God, it continues: "Before the middle of the century its character was transformed; there appeared a movement, headed by a mighty leader, who brought forth water from the rocks to make a barren land live again." These are the words of Dr. Temperlay in the

Cambridge Modern History, designating "The Age of Reason."

Recall that today the totalitarian states are calling themselves expressions of "The Age of Science".

This mighty leader, "who brought forth water from the rocks to make a barren land live again," is the central character in the greatest moral and spiritual drama the British Empire in its whole history has known. Mark the verdict of that great Minister of Education, the Rt. Honourable Augustine Birrell: "No man lived nearer to the centre than John Wesley; neither Pitt nor Clive, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of the national life. No single figure influenced so many minds; no single voice touched so many hearts; no other man did such a life's work for England."

What an amazing tribute! Could we point to any other character, in all modern history, and pay such a tribute as that? Yet it is paid by a great educationist and statesman. Nor do such tributes stand alone. You will pardon me mentioning that just after the publication of my book, *England: Before and After Wesley,* Sir Charles Oman, head of the Modern History Department of Oxford, Member of Parliament for Oxford, and Intelligence Officer of the British Government during the last war, wrote me saying:—"I have always, Sir, agreed with your central conclusion, that John Wesley *saved England from spiritual and moral collapse."*

It is a stupendous claim. Why, then, have most historians ignored such things? Why? That is one of the vital questions of this hour.

As friends of the Empire, whatever our politics or our creed, let us pause now and consider briefly the life of this amazing man whom historians have little understood and much ignored.

We can indulge but a flying panorama. At 35 years of age, this man, who later was to save England and the Empire from moral and spiritual collapse, was a failure. Note that word. Don't misunderstand me. From his earliest youth he had been a person of amazing self-discipline, amazing intelligence, amazing erudition and amazing sincerity. He had been a Don at Oxford (an Oxford Professor) and was a great classic scholar. Nevertheless, he was a failure.

Then something happened. This disillusioned professor-priest underwent a transforming spiritual experience, called (it is a word today unpopular) "conversion". Would to God we knew its meaning! It would be great for the Empire. He had a soul-illuminating, heart-warming rebirth; and that experience lifted him up, like his Lord, to the Mount of Transfiguration. To use Wesley's own words, his "spiritual eyes were opened" and he beheld the Holy One, the Invisible. His "spiritual ears were unstopped" and he heard the still, small voice of the Son of God, and began to live abundantly, triumphantly, as never before. The old tattered robes of legalism fell from him, and he knew himself "clothed upon" with the new and gleaming mantle of the Spirit Eternal.

This man, after his rebirth, looked with a seer's vision upon this England in eclipse, the England of the slave trader, the England of the kidnapper, the England of rotten theatres with free entrances for prostitutes of the street, the England of brutal sports—the England of a Deistic clique that had left the multitudes to wallow in ignorance, bestiality and shame. The Age of Reason, indeed!

Like the prophet of old, Wesley's soul cried out:—"Here am I, Oh, God! Use me!—not as I will but as Thou wilt, if only England be saved!" For, with spiritual eyes he could see beneath the adultery, the drunkenness and the debauchery, the infinite value of the souls of men.

So, he came down from that mount of transfiguration to the mundane affairs of everyday life. He began moving about among the common people as a priest of the Church of England, who loved the Church of England, who loved its Creed, who had no quarrel with the Church if only it would do its job and be faithful to its purpose. He tried to work within it. I shall not engage in controversy; but I have spent years of research in this field, and the blunt truth is that he was not wanted. Probably the greatest of the Bishops of that age, Bishop Butler, told Wesley in Bristol, "You are not wanted here, Sir, go hence!"

So, in the Providence of God, working with Whitefield, his amazing colleague, Wesley took to the open fields and soon we find him travelling all over the beautiful countryside of England. (How those of us who know it love it!) Over the hills, across the fenns, fording streams and struggling in currents, sometimes hanging on to his horse's tail. He was everywhere—at the mouth of the pit, at the door of the factory, in village market places—on town cobble stones. Yea, millions of British cobble stones are forever sacred where multitudes of British workmen kneeled as this man of God led them in prayer. England was in the process of finding her soul.

Think of the titanic labours of this man. In all recorded history they defy a parallel. He preached, in the fifty-three years succeeding his conversion, 46,000 sermons. He travelled—mostly on horse-back or on foot—226,000 miles. Despite all his other work, he published 233 books and pamphlets. He made £30,000 profits out of his writings alone. He was incomparably the greatest adult educator modern history in any land has yet known, and he never spent more than £30 a year on his own person. His was a life of almost unparalleled abstemiousness. He died in his eighty-eighth year, worth less than £10. He had given his *all* to God and to man.

No wonder Mr. Baldwin, now Lord Baldwin, when Prime Minister, said, "I am supposed to be a busy man but by the side of John Wesley I am one of the unemployed."

No wonder that Lloyd George, in reviewing the life of Wesley, said, "He left to the whole English-speaking world a heritage incomparably sublime."

Why, Gentlemen, as citizens of this Empire—I don't care whether you be Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic —you owe an unspeakable debt of gratitude to the sheer majesty of the life of this man of God who poured out his soul without thought of fee or hire to save England.

Again, have you ever thought of the debt of Democracy to this incomparable man, or the debt of Democracy to his Class Leaders, to say nothing of his itinerary preachers, that mighty army of self-taught Enthusiasts under their great Oxford Don?

Pause a moment on the Class Leaders. What a place they really have, if history were truly written, in the development of British Democracy. Have you ever known that Wesley was in contact with some ten thousand Class Leaders all over Britain before his death? Wherever he went, travelling everywhere in all sorts of weather, there were tortured souls who wanted to free themselves from drunkenness and sin and dishonesty and violence; so he formed seeking men into groups of twelve, under a man of character; while twelve seeking women he placed under a woman of character—to build them up in faith. They prayed together, worked together, and testified as to the miracles God had wrought in their hearts. All too, were sworn to secrecy concerning Class confessions.

Of course they had troubles.

There was an old fellow of Crewe,
  Who discovered a mouse in his stew.
Said the waiter: "Don't shout and wave it about,
  Or the rest will be wanting one too."

Think that over and apply it to the Class Meetings. There were mice that got into the stew—even rats. But these Class Leaders, trained under Wesley, became some of the most winsome characters in Britain. When problems arose, they didn't shout and wave them about.

For instance, if a man in a Class lapsed back into drunkenness, and tens of thousands of drunkards were reclaimed in this miraculous movement in England, they didn't wag their heads and say, "I told you so. What is the good of it?" They got down on their knees in prayer and yearned over that man as a mother over a fallen son. They went out after him when his old cronies had taken him off and poured gin down his throat; they won him back, and rejoiced more over the one sinner returned than over the ninety-and-nine that were safe in the fold.

When you consider those ten thousand Class Leaders, what does Democracy in Britain not owe to such a movement as that? Again we quote Lord Baldwin. "Historians," he says, "who fill their pages with Napoleon and have nothing to say of Wesley, now are beginning to realize that they can never explain 19th century England until they first explain John Wesley," He poignantly added: "I believe it equally true to say they will never understand what is best in 20th century America until they understand Wesley." His influence embraced the world.

This leads us to the third and concluding section of our survey—the era of epic reform. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery, by concensus of opinion among the greatest modern historians, is the cardinal achievement of all modern history.

Four times Professor George Macaulay Trevelyan, O.M., in his *History of the 19th Century,* refers to the abolition of this nefarious traffic as a "turning event" in modern "world history." Note that word "world". He doesn't say "British"; he doesn't say "European"; he says "world history". This turning event, Trevelyan reminds us, came "only just in time". Had the accursed traffic in human blood continued but a little longer, nothing is more certain than that the rising cupidity of the growing nationalisms of Europe, not content with transporting African slaves from their own continent to the new world, would have parcelled out the whole African Continent (the second largest) into "slave farms".

Trevelyan continues: "The inevitable Nemesis of that travesty of humanity and justice would as certainly have spelled the dissolution and destruction of modern European civilization—he doesn't say of 'British civilization', but 'modern European civilization'—as the institution of slavery spelled the destruction of the old civilization of Greece and Rome."

Well, Gentlemen, here we are in the realm of the imponderables, so staggering in proportion that the average man passes by because of spiritual blindness. To talk about the British Empire without recognition of these things is to try to understand the body without any cognizance of the soul that expresses itself through the body.

Who then were the chief leaders in this great achievement, this miracle of modern history? Note well their names: Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Cowper the poet, Hannah More, Sir James Stephen—go right through the list, including John Newton and Thomas Buxton and every single one of them was an avowed Christian. They were of every denomination, including Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Anglicans and Catholics. Yes! But all of them, in the last analysis, were children of the new *Zeitgeist*—the new birth of national conscience which Wesley had wrought. Indeed the Evangelical revival represents the Great Divide, the water-shed, of modern British history. It bequeathed a new soul to the common people of England.

These things are essential to our understanding of Britain today, but we pass from this amazing achievement to the foundations of popular education. And their building represents a romantic story that started with a humble Sunday School.

The next step was the creation of the Royal Lancastrian School Society. Following that, came the British and Foreign School Society, uniting all Non-Conformists; and after that, the National School Society under the Church of England. Then, in like succession, came Shaftesbury's Educational Classes in the Factory Acts, and later, the romantic Ragged School Movement, with which Charles Dickens and some of the geniuses of England were associated. The Bible was its chief text.

Only after all this, through the famous Board School Act, came free and popular education for the common people of England; and Gladstone under whose Government it was passed, said that it "simply filled in the gaps".

Next came the humanizing of the Prison System and the Penal Code. John Howard and Elizabeth Fry were the epic characters in this field. Both were children of the new Christian Revival, the mighty Baptism of Fire, that had spread over England and through the Empire, mediating heart warmth, soul illumination and moral power.

We press on to the emancipation of industrial England; and what an achievement it was! Don't forget, first, that the crudities, and cruelties and the exploitations of the early Industrial Revolution began under slavery. Most historians have utterly ignored that fact. But who now was raised up as a prophet-statesman, to lift the arms of protecting love against the exploitation of women and children? Why, Lord Shaftesbury, as every school boy should know. Think a moment regarding his life. He was born in a godless, though titled, home. The love of God and man was breathed into his soul by an old Christian nurse, Maria Millis. At fourteen years of age, while a student at Harrow School, he saw a pauper's funeral in which the pallbearers were so stupidly drunk they stumbled and fell, allowing the coffin to crash to earth, and crack. Like Lincoln at New Orleans, Shaftesbury vowed a vow and prayed a prayer, the tenor of which was: "Oh, God, can these things be in Christian England?" And there, he dedicated his life to the uplift of the downtrodden and oppressed among his countrymen.

Later he went to Oxford where he graduated with first class honours in Classics. At twenty-five he was an M.P. At twenty-seven, he obtained Cabinet rank. Fifty-seven of the sixty years of Shaftesbury's public life were given without a penny of pay, and he was a poor man all of his life. For many years, while his father disowned him, he had to borrow money to educate his ten children.

Consider the majesty of his life's work. He passed the epic and transforming succession of Factory Acts. He passed the Mines and Collieries Bill, the Chimney Sweep Acts, different Health, Housing and Education reforms, and also the Lodging House Bill which Dickens described as "the best Act ever passed by a British Legislature". He gave his whole life in a passionate outpouring for the welfare of the common people. Does his career mean nothing in understanding the heritage of this Empire? If *we* neglect it the *workers* of England have *not* neglected it. Many of you know Piccadilly Circus, London. In the heart of Piccadilly Circus stands an amazing memorial, commonly called the "Eros Monument". It is the Shaftesbury Memorial, built by the consecrated pennies of the emancipated industrial workers of England. The busiest spot in this Empire therefore contains not the memorial of a British King, or of Shakespeare, the King of Literature, but of the Prince of Social Reformers, the great Lord Shaftesbury, who gave his all in a missionary crusade (himself an Earl) to enrich the life of the common people of England. He, like Wilberforce, was a product of the same great Spiritual Awakening.

A step further, as we draw toward our conclusion. I had the honour of writing the history of the Barnardo Homes. Dr. Barnardo's work was such that it is cardinal to the understanding of the humanity of this Empire.

At sixteen Barnardo was a priggish agnostic. Then came a spiritual awakening. He came from Dublin, his native city, to London to train as a medical missionary to China. In London's East End slums he opened up, at his own expense, a Donkey Shed Ragged School. One night he discovered a half-starved urchin trying to hide in the school. He took him home, fed him and discovered in talking with him that he had no friend in the world; he slept out. After a hot meal, Barnardo put a half-crown in his pocket and challenged the youngster to lead him out into the night and show him a "lay" of boys sleeping out. The challenge was accepted, and off they went. After two hours' search, Barnardo climbed a wall, ten feet high near the banks of the Thames; and there he saw the challenge of his life's work—eleven homeless boys sleeping out on a metal roof on a winter's night.

Barnardo never saw China, the land of his dreams. He opened up the East End Juvenile Mission, and out of it grew the Barnardo Homes. Those Homes, to date, have mothered and reared 130,000 once destitute and homeless boys. They have rendered temporary help to a half-million more. Two per cent of all the British stock in our fair Dominion of Canada are Barnardo children and their descendants. At this moment, Barnardo Homes are mothering 8,500 once destitute bairns.

Do you think you can understand our Empire without an understanding of this, and analogous Christian organizations? I am not saying the British Empire is wholly Christian. I am not saying that there has ever been a truly Christian state or Empire in history; but I believe the British Empire, since the time of Wesley has been more

Christian than any other great political system the world has yet known.

* * * * *

The foregoing, Gentlemen, are but a few of the rich fruits which the "epic era of social reform" brought to the British Empire. To attempt to understand British Democracy without reference to these things is like an attempt to understand light without reference to the sun. The mighty Spiritual Awakening under Wesley produced the inimitable century of the *Pax Britannica,* the most truly creative century, perhaps, in the history of civilization.

Sir James Barrie, once addressing the Oxford University Union, said, "Now, don't forget to speak slightingly of the Victorians. There will be time enough for you to learn humility when you try to better them." Think that over.

A smart American novelist recently wrote: "Man is a parasite crawling on the vertebrae of the pygmy among the planets." Is that philosophy common in the world today? Could a Wesley, a Wilberforce, a Shaftesbury or a Barnardo have spoken thus of man?

The century of the *Pax Britannica* was the age of peace because it was an age of hope, of vision and of faith.

Lord Bryce, summing up in his classic, *Modern Democracies,* writes: "If the spiritual oxygen which has kept alive the attachment to liberty and self-government in the minds of the people becomes exhausted, will not the flame burn low and perhaps flicker out? . . . Without faith nothing is accomplished and hope is the mainspring of faith."

Tragedy, today, is with us. But we are not bereft of hope, and it may be that this war is calling us afresh to guard our spiritual treasure and to recapture and enlarge the faith and the vision that inspired the mighty *Pax Britannica* and made the British Empire a blessing to the whole wide world.

Gentlemen, I thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: We have listened to a very excellent address from one thoroughly conversant with his subject. Dr. Bready has so well pointed out that one of the bulwarks of our democracy is the Christian religion, and what it means, and this we must maintain to secure freedom of thought and action and the moral traditions of equal justice so that we may enjoy our spiritual life and liberty. It is what our Anglo-Saxon civilization stands for. We are indeed much indebted to Dr. Bready for coming to us today, and on your behalf I extend to him a hearty vote of thanks and appreciation for his excellent address.

(Applause)

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Chairman: The President, Dr. F. A. Gaby

April 25, 1940

The President: Before we go on the air I would like to dispense with a few of the formalities of this occasion.

This date has been chosen as the Annual Meeting of the Empire Club by its Executive, and it is an opportunity for me to say a few words in review of the work done during the year.

We are pleased to note that our membership standing as of April 30th of this year, as compared with the same date last year, is within ten of the number, notwithstanding the conditions that have existed during the past year. However, I shall have a few words to say later in connection with the urgency of the maintenance of our membership, especially in these very serious times.

We have been saddened by the loss by death of twenty-one members of which two were life members—Dr. Albert Ham and Lieut.-Col. R. J. Stuart. Other members who have passed away during the Club Year are: George F. Campbell; R. H. Parmenter; A. C. Thorn; Rev. Dr. McElheran; J. J. McDougall; Colonel W. N. Ponton; W. E. Robertson; John B. Goff; Robert Parker; Thomas Bradshaw; James Strachan; Emil Schiff; John P. Arnott; James C. Breckenridge; J. J. Seitz; E. E. McDonnell; I. B. Lucas; and A. W. Langmuir.

Your sympathy to their families was appropriately offered by your Executive.

One of Canada's greatest losses was the death of our Honorary President, Lord Tweedsmuir, which was so eloquently referred to by Dr. Bruce at a recent meeting. We have cabled Lord Tweedsmuir's successor, the Earl of

Athlone, asking his acceptance of the Honorary Presidency of this Club.

The financial position of your Club remains sound, notwithstanding that we have had five speakers more this year than last. After consideration of Expenditures and Expenses attributed to the year, notwithstanding additional assistance, our statement will show that we will be slightly on the right side, and our surplus cash standing to the credit of the Club will be maintained.

A total of thirty-three addresses were given since the beginning of the 1939-40 session. We have had such splendid Imperialists as the Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, Lieut.-Col. George A. Drew, Mr. Beverley Baxter and Miss Rosita Forbes; such prominent Canadians as Senator Beaubien of Montreal, Dr. Cody and Senator Fallis. Other parts of the Empire were represented by Mr. deWaal Meyer, of South Africa, and Mr. Malik, of India; also from our Southern neighbours, Mr. Hanson Baldwin, Mr. Sherman Rogers and Mr. Roy Moore, delivered important messages to our members.

Our Year Book is well advanced in preparation and we hope to have it in your hands some time in June. It will contain all of the addresses given before the Club during the year, prepared in the same excellent form as in the past.

A great deal of interest has been taken by schools and libraries in the addresses given before the Club, and we have many requests for our Publication during the year. Copies have been distributed to sixty public libraries throughout Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the hope that your Club might help in perpetuating the spirit of the Empire.

At this time I wish to extend my congratulations to the Executive for their excellent work during the year, and sincerely thank them for their hearty support and assistance in furthering the interests of the Club. I would like especially to refer to our Honorary Secretary-Treasurer, that hard-working and loyal official, Mr. Bourlier, for his excellent contribution, not only in the heavy duties he performs, but also for his assistance by furnishing the piano accompaniment to our National Anthem.

I also extend thanks and appreciation especially to Mr. Harpham for his splendid work as Chairman of the Head Table Committee. I am sure we all appreciate his loyal and earnest work.

It is now in order that we receive the report of the Nominating Committee and I would ask the Honorary Secretary to present this report. I am informed that the Committee at this time is not in a position to make a definite recommendation in regard to the Presidency, which we expect to do at a later date. For this purpose, with your approval, we ask that the present Nominating Committee be continued until a final report is received within a few weeks, when a special meeting will be called to hear their recommendations. We would be pleased now to hear the report from our Secretary.

Mr. H. C. Bourlier: I beg to present report of the Nominating Committee of the Empire Club of Canada for the year commencing May 1st, 1940, as follows:

It is recommended the President for the ensuing Club Year be not elected at this meeting, but that the present President carry on for the time being, to which he has agreed. Your Committee asks permission to continue in office until it may be in a position to nominate the President for the year 1940-41.

The following nominations are submitted for the other offices mentioned:

1st Vice-President—Mr. C. R. Sanderson
2nd " " —Mr. H. F. Powell
3rd " " —Mr. E. F. Thompson
Honorary Secretary-Treasurer—Mr. H. C. Bourlier
Honorary Auditor —Mr. H. T. Jamieson
Assistant Treasurer —Mr. W. W. Comber

To the Executive Committee (17 Members as required by the Constitution):

New

Mr. R. A. Stapells
Mr. J. C. M. MacBeth, K.C.
Mr. H. H. Bishop
Mr. A. T. Hunt
Mr. Hedley Marsh

Former
Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
Mr. J. D. Spence, K.C.
Mr. F. L. Clouse
Mr. G. O. Fleming
Mr. Robert Fleming
Mr. Horace Harpham
Mr. F. Pullen
Mr. W. Eason Humphreys
Mr. A. Ross Robertson
Mr. Denton Massey, M.P.
Mr. Leonard L. McMurray
Immediate Past President.

Upon the subsequent election of the new President, the I.P.P. will be added to the Executive Committee.

In accordance with the Constitution, the following Past Presidents shall be appointed to the Executive:

Brigadier General C. H. Mitchell (1921)
Sir William Hearst (1922)
Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson (1923)

All of which is respectfully submitted.

It was moved by Mr. Norman Ham,
Seconded by Mr. William E. Lemon,
THAT the Report of the Nominating Committee, as submitted by the Secretary, be adopted.

CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Gentlemen, before going on with the introduction of the speaker, I would like to say a few more words in connection with the work of the Empire Club, and I am sure that you are all pleased with the Executive that has been nominated to act on your behalf during the coming year. It is a very strong Executive that the Committee has placed before you and that you have approved.

I do not propose on this occasion to make a lengthy speech.

First, I would like to refer back to my remarks last spring, on accepting the Presidency of the Empire Club, which honour I have very much appreciated, and I have enjoyed my association with your excellent Executive. I said then that I accepted such responsibility, knowing that our best energies would be directed toward serving the Empire Club, and the encouragement of thought and interest by its members in National and Empire problems, and that these problems were much more important then in view of the critical period in the history of the Empire and were further emphasized by the disturbed state of mind of our people, in view of the tremendous evolution and progress that was taking place in our national economy and that of the world.

At the time I made these remarks, I did not realize that the crisis was so near. It is more necessary than ever at this time to extend our efforts in furthering Empire matters, and in the support of the morale of our people. To maintain our place in this Commonwealth of Nations, it is necessary that our people should be thoroughly informed, so as to form judgment and decision in the important problems facing our Empire.

The traditions of the British democracy are the very fibre of our nation and the greatest of all democracies is the British Empire. It is the purpose of this Club to maintain these traditions by bringing to you the latest thought of the day and by bringing men capable of delivering same. Let each member who has an interest in Canada and a United Empire, which is our motto, assist our Club, and assist our Executive to spread the valuable information that is available through our public addresses by bringing in his friends as members, thus enabling greater financial security and wider range in bringing to you public speakers of outstanding ability and knowledge. It is very important that our public men, abroad and at home, be given the opportunity of informing our members on the affairs of the nation and the Empire, and very often it is only through the medium of such clubs as ours that this can be accomplished and we must make this possible.

Our great need is for active membership, and we trust that you will assist us in this regard, and I am quite sure that your Executive will do all they can to maintain the strength of your Club in public affairs. (Applause)

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONT.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th APRIL, 1940

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1939				$3,156.76
RECEIPTS				
Membership Fees			$3,995.00	
Bank Interest			52.92	
Sale of Year Books			17.00	
			$4,064.92	
PAYMENTS				
Dominion of Canada First War Loan Bond (Par Value $1,000.00)			$ 997.50	
Accrued Interest on Bond Purchased			2.94	
Luncheon Expenses		$5,131.25		
Less:				
Sale of Tickets:				
By outside Agencies	$4,376.00			
By Honorary Secretary-Treasurer	312.00	4,688.00	443.25	
Printing, Stationery and Postage			2,485.51	
Recording and Publicity			479.36	
Salary of Assistant Treasurer			199.98	
Speakers Fees and Expenses			477.10	
Miscellaneous Expenses			84.95	
Telephone and Telegraph			209.78	
			$5,380.37	1,315.45
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1940				$1,841.31

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1940; that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above statement of Receipts and Payments is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the transactions of the Club according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1940.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario,
27th May, 1940.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

*1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.
1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.
*1935-1940	Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

*1902-05	Brig.-Gen. James Mason
*1905-06	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1906-07	J. P. Murray, Esq.
1907-08	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
*1908-09	D. J. Goggins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.
1909-10	Elias Clouse Esq., M.D.
*1910-11	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.S.S.
1911-12	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
1912-13	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A. D.D., D.C.L.
*1913-14	Mr. Justice James Craig
*1914-15	Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart
*1915-16	Albert Ham, Esq., Musc. Doc.
*1916-17	James Black Perry, Esq.
1917-18	Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
*1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.
1921	Brig.-Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
1924	William Brooks, Esq.
1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C.
*1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq.
*1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
1930	John D. Spence, Esq., K.C.
1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq.
1932-33	Lt.-Col. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
1933-34	Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
1934-45	Dana H. Porter, Esq.
1935-36	J. H. Brace, Esq.
1936-37	Major G. B. Balfour
1937-38	R. M. Harcourt, Esq.
1938-39	J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.

* Deceased

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Officers:

YEAR 1940-1941

President: Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. Can., K.C.
First Vice-President: C. R. Sanderson, Esq.
Second Vice-President: H. F. Powell, Esq.
Third Vice-President: E. F. Thompson, Esq.
Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: H. C. Bourlier, Esq.
Assistant Treasurer: W. W. Comber, Esq.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, Esq.

Executive Committee:

H. H. Bishop, Esq.
F. L. Clouse, Esq.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
G. O. Fleming, Esq.
Robt. Fleming, Esq.
Horace Harpham, Esq.
W. Eason Humphreys, Esq.
A. T. Hunt, Esq.
J. C. M. MacBeth, K.C.
F. Hedley Marsh, Esq.
Denton Massey, M.P.
Leonard L. McMurray, Esq.
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
Frank Pullen, Esq.
A. Ross Robertson, Esq.
J. D. Spence, K.C.
R. A. Stapells, Esq.

Immediate Past President:

Dr. F. A. Gaby, Esq.

Past Presidents:

Brig. Gen. C. H. Mitchell
Sir Wm. Hearst, K.C.
Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c) and (d), must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article active resident and associate members shall pay an annual fee of

$4.00 and non-resident members $3.00, payable on the first day of October in each year in respect of the Club year from May 1 to April 30 then current. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of April in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honoray Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President and such ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30 of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committee

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows

(a) Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of May.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERS WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES ON ACTIVE SERVICE

Capt. Lyman Crawford-Brown
Capt. J. S. P. Armstong
Major F. A. Burgess
Erskine B. Johnston
R. C. Clarkson
Col. W. H. Watson
Major Lawrence Junkin
Denton Massey, M.P.
Col. A. E. Nash
Norman A. Nunn

LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS

Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert A.
Clouse, Dr. Elias
Coombs, F. J.
Fasken, Alex
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., K.C.
Geary, Capt. B. Handley, V.C.
Gibbons, John J.
Kernahan, W. T.
MacDougall, A. Roy
MacKay, John
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, James Y.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Sweeney, Right Rev. Jas. F.
Tindall, H. B.
Wood, E. R.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Aitchison, J. F., Montreal, Que.
Arnoldi, Charles, Oakville, Ont.
Baker, Robert P., London, Ont.
Beaumont, Jos., Glen Williams, Ont.
Boyd, Mossom deG., Bobcaygeon, Ont.
Brace, J. H., Montreal, Que.
Bradley, E. Oshawa, Ont.
Cawthra-Elliott, Major Gen. H. M., Lakeview, Ont.
Davis, Aubrey, Newmarket, Ont.
Dowding, C. E., Oakville, Ont.
Fraser, Alasdair D. R. Windsor, Ont.
Gibson, W., R. Grimsby, Ont.
Hitchcock, C. H., Sudbury, Ont.
Hughes, Gordon R., Winnipeg, Man.
Jackson, E. H. Simcoe, Ont.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore, Kingston, Ont.
Livingston, J. A., Hamilton, Ont.
Lovell, E. A., Oshawa, Ont.
Mackay, G. F. A. Gormley Ont.
McBain, Alex., Ottawa, Ont.
McCrea, T. Arthur, Rosseau, Ont.
McCulley, Joseph, Newmarket, Ont.
McIntosh, C. H., Montreal, Que.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S., Oshawa, Ont.
McLean, W. A. Pickering, Ont.
Noyes, G. R. Finch, Oakville, Ont.
Over, Spencer H., Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
Raven, Rev. C. C., Victoria, B. C.

Rice, H. E.,
Huntsville, Ont.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.,
Islington, Ont.
Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.,
St. Catharines, Ont.
Sinclair, Dr. D. J.,
Woodstock, Ont.
Smith, W. Harland,
Oakville, Ont.
Steele, C. E.,
Port Colborne, Ont.
Walker, Charles,
Oakville, Ont.
Whidden, Dr. Howard P.,
Hamilton, Ont.
Wideman, Harvey,
Markham, Ont.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W.
Adamson, H. R.
Agar, Norman E.
Aird, W. H.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Allen, Geo. H.
Alley, B. P.
Alley, Lt.-Col. H. R.
Ambrose, J. R. W.
Anderson, Joseph
Andison, T. H.
Appleton, C. N.
Archdekin, W. O.
Archibald, Dr. T. D.
Armour, Rev. J. B. M.
Armstrong, Harry E.
Ashlin, C. H. N.
Ashworth, J. J.
Atkinson, Fred
Atkinson, F. L.

Babbitt, G. W.
Bain, H. R.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.
Baker, George A.
Baldwin, H. A.
Baldwin, L. H.
Balfour, Gordon B., K.C.
Ballard, B. W.
Band, Chas. S.
Banks, E. Harold
Barber, George
Barber, William
Bark, W. A.
Barnard, T. H.
Bastedo, Norman H.
Bate, Wm. B.
Batten, Reg. A.
Batten, W. Howard
Baxter, Major W. James
Beairsto A. H. C.
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beardsworth, H.
Beaton, A. H.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A.
Becker, Dr. C. W.
Begg, Herbert
Bell, Dr. W. J.
Bennett, E. J.
Bennett, Norman D.
Benson, D. F.
Berkeley, H. C.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Bernard, M.
Best, T. Harrison
Bevan, G. H.
Bickle, E. W.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackburn, D. D.
Blackburn, F. J.
Blackwell, Leslie E.
Blackwell, P.
Bland, Rev. Salem G.
Boase, J. B.
Boddy, Henry M.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bond, E. A.
Bond, Major F. L. C.
Bongard, Gordon R.

Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Bourlier, H. C.
Bowie, Douglas F.
Bowman, Tom E.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Boyter, J. B.
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.
Bremner, Donald G.
Brittain, Horace L.
Brockwell, Meredith
Brooke, Arthur R.
Brooks, W.
Broughall, Rev. Canon J. S.
Brown, F. I.
Brown, Henry
Brown, H. Lawlor
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Browne, James
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Burgess, C. H.
Burgess, John H.
Burns, H. D.
Burns, Rev. Dr. R. N.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.

Calvert, A. Morrison
Cameron, Harry
Cameron, Capt. J. D.
Cameron, John D.
Cameron, M. C.
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Campbell, E. M.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, C. H.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carrie, Nicol
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carson, James L.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen. G. S.
Cashman, P. W.
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Chalmers, Dr. W. L.
Chandler, Harry S.
Chapman, E. A.
Charles, Leo. E.
Charlesworth, Hector
Chave, B. W.
Cherry, P. G.
Chipman, J. H.
Chisholm, Lt.-Col. Geo. T.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, Herbert A., K.C.
Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarkson, G. T.
Cleland, Ralph H.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Clouse, F. L.
Coatsworth, Alan
Cody, Professor H. J.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colberg, A. M.
Colby, S. A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Comber, W. W.
Complin, Gordon
Conquergood, Chas. R.
Cooke, R. L.
Coon, H. J.
Corbet, J. M. R.
Cork, J. Milton
Corlett, W. E.
Corrigan, Fred S.
Corson, R. R.
Cosgrave, Provost F. H.
Coste, E. F.
Cottrelle, Geo. R.
Coulter, J. E.
Coulter, W. C.
Coulter, W. Howard
Coutts, Wm. E.
Cowan, N. E.
Cowan, Major R. Cecil
Craick, W. A.
Craig, T. A.
Crang, J. H.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawford-Brown, Norman
Crighton, A. S.
Crockett, E.
Cross, Edward

Crossland, E. F.
Cudworth, W. O.
Crowell, Samuel G.

Dallas, Rev. A. M.
Dalley, H. O.
Daly, R. O.
Dargavel, R. B.
Davidson, Jocelyn
Davies, J. E.
Davis, Bertrand N.
Davis, Bruce P.
Davis, Geo. D.
Davis, R. Reade
Davis, W. H.
Deacon, Col. F. H.
Dean, Rev. S. W.
Dean, W. G.
DeVries, Henry M.
Dewar, A. M.
DeWitt, H. N.
DeWitt, Prof. N. W.
Dibblee, John
Dickey, A. J.
Dilworth, R. J.
Dilworth, W. A.
Dingle, Major Gordon R. M.
Dix, Wm. B.
Doran, F. C.
Douglas, Howard R.
Drew, Lt.-Col. Geo. A.
Duern, Herbert
Duffett, Norman G.
Dumoulin, Walter H.
Duncan, Jas. S.
Duncan, S. F.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunlap, D. M.
Dunlop, R. H.
Dunn, William
Dyke, Jas. E.
Dyment, A. E.

Eastmure, A. W.
Eaton, Col. R. Y.
Eby, H. D.
Edmonds, C. E.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey
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Ferguson, Hon. G. Howard
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Pratt, J. P., K.C.
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Price, Lt.-Col. W. H.
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Pullan, Harry
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Purvis, Maxwell C., K.C.

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Rawlinson, Lt.-Col. Walter
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Reed, Edwin T.
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Riley, Very Rev. Dean
Ringland, H. S.
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Scheuer, Edmund
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Shaver, Edward B. H.
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Shortt, Maurice J.
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Smith, F. D. L.
Smith, Major Howell
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